SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF SOUTHERN ORISSA

BHASKAR DAS



PUNTHI — PUSTAK
CALCUTTA • 1985

ABOUT THE BOOK

This book is first of its kind in dealing with the socio-economic condition of the people of Southern Orissa during the 19th. century, with historic background of political situation. Much has been written on Orissa of that time. This book not only reflects the struggle among different powers i.e. the English, the French and the Native rulers, but also traces the very root upon which a power could concentrate its administration. Attitude of the people toward the British authority, its benevolent measures, success and failure of these measures are also studied along with the tribal socio-economic and religious problems. In the book a general trend of trade and commerce of the region. while most of the years of the period were witnessed the panic of famines, reflects the severity of suffering of the people. In fact the book is an humble effort of the author in general, in studying the socio-economic conditions of the 19th. century Southern Orissa.

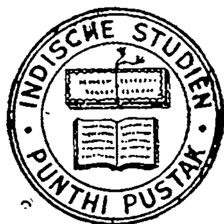
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF SOUTHERN ORISSA

ORISSA STUDIES PROJECT NO. 23

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF SOUTHERN ORISSA

—A Glimpse into Nineteenth Century—

Dr. BHASKAR DAS
M.A, Ph.D., LL.B., B.Ed.



PUNTHI PUSTAK
Calcutta 1985

Published by :

Sankar Bhattacharya
PUNTHI PUSTAK
136/4B, Bidhan Sarani
Calcutta-700004

First Published,
September 1985

Printed by :

Srimati Mahamaya Roy
SONNET PRINTING HOUSE
19, Goabagan Street
Calcutta-700006

DEDICATED IN MEMORY
TO
MY MOTHER

PREFACE

The present work is a study on the socio-economic conditions of Southern Orissa during the nineteenth century. The study begins with the transfer of Northern Circars to the East India Company in 1766. From 1766 till the end of nineteenth century was a period on conflicts and uncertainties. The modern southern Orissa comprised of districts of Ganjam, Phulbani and Koraput.

Under the Mohammedan government, the Ganjam district was known as Itchapur division. The Jeypore Zemindary was in the Vizagapatam division. Both of these divisions were governed by the Foujdar at Chicacole. The East India Company government received five districts of the Northern Circars as Inam or free-gift from the Delhi emperor in 1765. As such these districts remained under the Madras government till 1936, when a separate Orissa province was formed. On this occasion the Jeypore zemindary and the Ganjam region were taken from the Madras presidency and merged in Orissa.

Research on the history of southern Orissa is just opening. Not much has been done in this respect. Most of the scholars who have so far worked on History of Orissa have taken the present districts viz. Cuttack, Puri and Balasore as Orissa. Both the western Orissa comprising Sambalpur tract and the southern Orissa of the Ganjam tract have been neglected. This work is first of its kind focussing attention on the southern Orissa from the period of British occupation in 1766 till the end of the Nineteenth Century, covering almost one hundred and fifty years of British administration.

A study of social and economic conditions of a period reflects the history of a region in the best possible way. This

is very much true in case of southern Orissa. The Northern part of present Orissa came under the East India Company in 1803. During the later part of the nineteenth century there were many social, administrative, economic and political changes in this region. A study of these changes would offer the necessary background to have a proper understanding of the situation to which southern Orissa was affected at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the background beginning with 1766 has been studied.

The impact of a combined effect of Hindu, Muslim and foreign administration opened new dimensions in the region ; the kind of experience which was unprecedented in the history of this region. The 19th century was a period of great expectations, disappointments, and most important of all devastating changes in many areas of social, economical and political life. A study of these conditions and changes will open a vista of new vision into the history of Orissa in general and history of southern Orissa in particular. I have tried to make a humble contribution in this regard.

The present topic is analysed in seven chapters. In chapter one, the historical background of the region on the even of 19th century is provided. It shows how the region became a bone of contention between the English and the French, who were struggling for supremacy in the Deccan and how the British succeeded with standing all the forces of opposition by the native Rajas of southern Orissa.

Chapter two deals with the land revenue system and administration of the East India Company. In this chapter an attempt is made to show the British innovations and interferences with the traditional local institutions which affected the status of the native Rajas or zemindars. It also deals with the causes of failure of the permanent settlement. On the other hand the permanent settlement was compara-

tively successful in Northern Orissa when it was tried at the beginning of the East India Company's administration.

The general condition of the region, the status of the peasants under the permanent settlement, the practice and difficulties of cultivation under the traditional system and the causes and consequences together with the history of famines are highlighted in the third chapter.

The aboriginals occupied a major portion of southern Orissa. Though they lived on the hilly tracts, they had deep impact on the economic and political life of the people who lived on the plains. Special mention is made about their resistance against the British. From the beginning of the East India Company's administration till almost the end of the 19th century, the British government faced active opposition from the aboriginals. In fact, the Ghumsur rebellion, which was suppressed during the Commissionership of G. E. Russell, was one of the important battles the British fought in India to bring the native aboriginals under its control. I have tried to make a sketch of the problems of the aboriginals in the fourth chapter.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the study of the progress of education of the region during the period. In this chapter an attempt is made to define the failure of attempt to spread education in the meriah tracts. The attitude of the aboriginals toward education, the general feeling of the people in the plains toward English education, and the position of the Oriya language under the educational system are spotted in this chapter.

The sixth chapter is a study on the development of trade and commerce of the region. The general feature of trade under native system, after occupation the East India Company and its gradual development leading to economic drain of the tract have been studied in this chapter. It attempts to show how the European capital and mind had

worked to cause economic drain of the tract in a series of administrative and commercial msasures.

The seventh chapter is devoted to a study of social reform measures which the British government initiated under the administration of the Company and the Crown. Mention has been made about the Meriah sacrifice, female infanticide, and etc. The British officials took up these and by the end of the century the Meriah became a matter of history.

Materials relating to the topic have been collected from varios sources.

I am thankful to Prof. K. C. Jena, Dept. of History, Berhampur University, without whose guidance, help and advice this work could have been impossible.

My thanks are due to Prof. B. N. Misra, Dept. of Botany, Berhampur University, Sri Prabhat Kirandeb of Moherry family for their encouragement and also to my parents, whose advice made me to stand as a man.

Dr. BHASKAR DAS

ABBREVIATIONS

G.D.R.	Ganjam District Record.
V.D.R.	Vizagapatam District Record.
T.N.A.M.	Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras.
A.P.S.A. Hyd.	Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad.
O.S.A.	Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar.
R.M.A.	Report of Meriah Agents.
E.L.A.C.	Estate Land Act Committee Report.

CONTENTS

1 HISTORY OF SOUTHERN ORISSA ON THE EVE OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

Period of Rivalry : 1753-1766

The modern part of Southern Orissa comprises the Ganjam, Phulbani, and Koraput districts. They had formed a part of the Southern kingdom of Kalinga.[1] In 1560 when Orissa was overran by the Musulmans, it was nominally reduced and brought under the Musalman control. It formed a part of the Chicacole Circar.[2] Different Foujdars and Naibs continued to rule over the Chicacole Circar until it was ceded to the French in 1753.[3]

In 1753 Salabat Jung had made over to the French with other districts of the Northern Circars, the Chicacole Circar, to cover for the pay and equipment of the French army in his service.[4] The Chicacole Circar under the French had Ibrahim Khan as its Foujdar. In 1757, the collection of revenue of the Northern Circars posed a new problem to the French. Monsieur De Bussy, who had been managing the French affairs from Hyderabad, had proceeded to the Northern Circars to secure its revenue. The revenue collection of the Chicacole Circar was not satisfactory. It was always uncertain due to the incapacity of the Foujdar Ibrahim Khan to manage the Circar. The Rajas under the Itchapur province or Ganjam division then, had withheld their payment of revenue to the French. But their unimpeachable

status did not last long. Haunted by the fear of the fate of the Raja of Bobili, these Rajas hastened payment of their arrear revenue of tribute, except Kissan Bhunge, the Raja of Ghumsur.[5]

The tribute claimed by the French on the Raja of Ghumsur amounted to Rs. 1,80,000/-. Kissan Bhunge had refused to pay the amount. This had resulted Bussy to march on as far as Ghumsur and there was an engagement of the troops between the parties. But this hostility did not last long. Soon, both the parties came to a mutual agreement and the warfare ceased in the middle of April, 1757. Bussy did not leave Ganjam until May, 1758. His stay at Ganjam at this period was designed to unite all the Rajas of the tract under one political head to the advantage of the French against the English power. To accomplish a success in this work he had relied on Viziaram Rauz of Vizianagaram.[6]

In this venture Bussy had a favourable time as long as Viziaram survived. On his death, his son Annand Gajapaty Rauz succeeded to the situation of Vizianagaram. He was not in favour of the French and the French power in the Northern Circars. He wanted to drive the French out of these possessions. So he entered into a treaty of alliance with the East India Company in 1757 and helped the Company against the French.[7] An equal rival to the French at this time was the British.[8] Annand had related his intention and also assured his help to the British, in case it tried to attempt the Northern Circars.[9]

The French danger in Madras was apprehended at this time. The Madras Government had declined to enter into any such agreement. Having seen no other prospect Annand in 1758 applied to the Bengal Government. Lord Clive sent Colonel Ford to cooperate with Annand Rauz. Ford defeated Conflans, the French general, Bussy's successor at Peddapore. On this defeat, the French General retreated to Masulipatam and obtained promise and aid from

Salabat Jung. Annand Rauz, at this time withdrew from the venture. The defeat of the French at Peddapore encouraged Ford to storm Masulipatam, the key of the French possession, in April, 1759, before Salabat Jung reached there.[10]

After the fall of Masulipatam in April, 1759, Ganjam was the only port open to the French. Monsieur Moracin, who had been sent by Lally to assist De Conflans against the English, landed his troops at Ganjam. Moracin's stay at Ganjam was considered a good opportunity to begin with a new alliance with the Rajas of the region. The alliance was designed to punish Annand Rauz of Vizianagaram for his treachery and unfaithfulness to the French. Moracin accordingly entered into negotiations with Narrain Deo of Moherry. The object of this alliance was directed first against the British settlement at Vizagapatam and then against Vizianagaram, the principal residence of Annand Rauz. The term of the alliance was that Narrain Deo was to be placed in all the advantages possessed by Annand Rauz. This was accepted by the Raja of Moherry, but for his own advantage without the intention of prosecuting the expedition. By July, 1759 Moracin was expected to reach Masulipatam. But his poor equipment and inadequate provisions compelled him to prolong his stay at Ganjam for some time more. There was no improvement in the stock of provisions. Neither Narrain Deo nor the inhabitants of Ganjam could supply the army their requirement. Extremity in provisions with the French had aggravated the situation at Ganjam. As a result of this hardship, the French soldiers had entered into the houses of the residents of the Berhampur town to get any supply. The residents resisted the plunder and the result was bloodshed on both the sides. On this occasion Narrain Deo withdrew his alliance and summoned all the Rajas of the tract for assistance. The French had no other alternative and marched back to Ganjam. The position of

the French became worse and they had lost all the changes of unifying the Rajas of the tract against the British.[11]

At this time Narrain Deo had no intention to stand by the French cause. In the meantime he had requested Colonel Clive for assistance against Moracin at Ganjam. The feasibility of this project of Narrain Deo was confirmed with the promise of his assistance to the British. And Clive had tried the experiment. On 7th October, 1759 as a preparatory to the project, 'Hardwick' encroached into the roads of Ganjam, under the Captainship of Samson. A proposal of surrender was presented to Moracin to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. Narrain Deo at this time remained neutral and did not render any help to Samson. A civil intercourse continued till 20th October, 1759. Samson was convinced of Narrain Deo's diplomacy and sailed for Bengal. By this time the French prospect was on the reverse. As such by the end of 1759 they had abandoned their settlement at Ganjam.[12] Most of the factories in the Northern Circars they had lost.[13]

The French distress in the Northern Circars and the growing power of the English made Salabat Jung to change his side to the support of the English power. Accordingly, he had granted to the English Company on 14th May, 1759, the whole of the Circar of Masulipatam.[14] On persuasion of the Company, Salabat Jung had agreed not to call Annand Rauz to account for what he had collected out of the Circars belonged to the French. The French were to leave the country. The rest of the Circars were left nominally under the Nizam's authority.[15]

In 1761 Nizam Ali came to power. In 1762 by a treaty of alliance he had offered to the English Company four districts of the Northern Circars, except Guntur. As these were formerly given to the French on condition of their service to the Nizam, the English Company inclined with the offer. Subsequently, these were placed under Hussain Ally.[16]

The Delhi Emperor in 1765 had set aside the gifts of the Circar Chicacole and etc. made by Salabat Jung in 1753 to the French and in consideration and faithfulness of the English, granted the Northern Circars to the Company by way of free gift or Inam. The Firman of the Emperor Shah Alam dated 12th August, 1765 entitled the English Company to possess the Circars as free gift from 1762.[17] But the English Company had to come to an agreement with Nizam Ali before it could take possession of these Circars,[18] viz. Chicacole, Rajmahundry, Ellore, Mostufanagar and Moortizanagar. These were known as the Northern Circars. By a treaty of mutual assistance, concluded on 12th November, 1766 the Nizam had ceded these Circars to the English Company, except Guntur. Guntur remained under Basalat Jung, Nizam's brother for life.[19]

There were some difficulties with which the English Company had to encounter, in order to secure their establishment over the Circars. The most important was the possession of the 'Sunnuds', which were read and published two years later, i.e. on 26th February, 1766 at Masulipatam. Soon after the treaty of November 1766, the Council had determined to take the countries into their own hands. According to the treaty of 1766, the Subadar of Deccan wrote letters to the Zemindars to pay their due obedience and tribute to the English Company.[20]

Period of Consolidation

The English Company took possession of the Itohapur province or the Ganjam division or district after 2nd December, 1766. Mr. Edward Cotsford was appointed Resident and he came to Ganjam early in 1767. The District then had 19 Rajas who had 34 forts and could put 34 thousand men of force into field.[21] Of these the most powerful Rajas were Kissan Bhunge, the Raja of Ghumsur ; Gajapaty Jaganath Narayan Deo, the Raja of Parlakhemundi ; Aunanga

Bheema Deb, Raja of Vizianagar ; and Narrain Deo, Raja of Moherry.[22]

The Raja of Parlakhemundi, Gajapaty Jaganath Narayan Deb, under instigation of the Subadar of Deccan had taken the field at Jalmoor in 1768. The English Company had its troops under Colonel Peach. Peach had reduced the country Kimedy into obedience, and Narayan Deb fled into the mountains of his country. After some time, he was restored to his former position, but his continual disturbances deprived him of his paternal zemindary. This time he took his shelter in Golgonda or Golconda. From Golconda Gajapaty Jaganath Narayan Deo negotiated with Ramjogi, the Manager of the estate, to bestow the Rajaship of his estate upon his favourite son Jaganath Deo. But Ramjogi refused to cause any such negotiation with the Company favouring Jaganath Deo as that would violate the healthy tradition of succession and exclude the right of Gajapaty Deo to the zemindary.[23]

Sitaram Rauz, of the 'Puspati' family of Vizianagaram, wanted to have a gaining handover Parlakhemundi keeping this in view, he lent his supporting hand in favour of Gajapaty Deo.[24] Gajapaty Deo made over the Purganas of Gunipuram or Gumupuram and Heramandalam to Sitaram Rauz for his assistance in matters of succession. Sitaram Rauz was successful in removing Ramajogi from Managership under imputation of misconduct and debt as he had foiled every attempt of Sitaram Rauz to bring Kimedy under his control. The other minister Arzubeg too was removed and Pratap Deo was appointed in his place. This arrangement, however, was not approved by the Raja Gajapaty Deo. To enforce the above arrangement, Gajapaty Deo was summoned to Vizagapatam, which he had evaded and the Company sent troops under Ensign Wottern to enforce the summons. Gajapaty Deo fled into Vizianagar in 1772 and sought protection under Bheema

Deo.[25] Upon this situation Jaganath Deo was appointed to Kimedy and the annual pescash was fixed at Rs. 80,000/-[26].

In 1780 Gajapaty Narayan Deo was restored to the Kimedy zemindary in reward of his service he rendered to the British troops in the Vizagapatam Sepoy Mutiny of October, 1780. But his twenty months rule did not satisfy the Company and Jaganath Deo was again recalled to manage the zemindary, but his inability to manage the estate made the Company to leave the zemindary to Gajapaty Deo or Narrain Deo.[27]

Gajapaty Deo during the period of his Rajaship over the zemindary did not yield to the desires of the Company. Often he had disobeyed the orders of the Collector and violated the engagements he had entered into with the Company.[28] In 1797 the Company intended to enhance the tribute and Gajapaty Narrain Deo executed a 'Caboleat' on 2nd December, 1797.[29] Accordingly, he had agreed to pay Rs. 1,20,000/- for the first three years and Rs. 1,11,919-15-9 for the fourth year, all including the old balances of Rs. 34,000/- each year, which became due since 1792.[30] Thus the peshcash was raised to Rs. 86,000/-. But Narrain Deo's disrespect to the deed of agreement led the authority to effect military operation in the zemindary.[31] Under the prevailing disorders, Durga Rauz, a relation of the Raja was put to manage the zemindary in 1799.[32] Narrain Deo died in confinement on 4th February, 1802,[33] and was succeeded by his son Purushottam Gajapaty Deo who died on 29th October, 1805, leaving an infant son Jaganath Gajapaty Narrain Deo.[34] The zemindary was brought under Court of Wards, and Durga Rauz became the manager and guardian of the minor zemindar. Durga Rauz died in 1813.[35]

In the year 1768 in the Itchapur province or Ganjam district the Raja of Moherry, Narrain Deo, with the help of other rajas had also created disturbances in opposition to the authority of Company at Ganjam.[36] Narrain Deo of

Moherry died on 10th February, 1770 and was succeeded by his son Narrainder Deo.

At this time the position of Mr. Edward Cotsford the Resident at Ganjam was not safe. To the North of the district at Cuttack there was a Maratha state with large force.[37] From this side an invasion was always apprehended by the authority at Ganjam. The native Rajas of the region had not given up their unsubmissiveness and chivalrious attitude.[38] To overcome these problems and to provide stores and settlement at Ganjam an aggregate force was located at different parts of the district and a fort was erected. The other object was to enforce the government o the Company and to receive the due tribute from the zemindars without opposition. The Revenue of the district Ganjam, in the Company's first year of occupation amounted to Rs. 5,00,000 /-[39].

In 1776, Aunanga Bheema Deb Kesari, the Raja of Vizianagar died. There was hostility between the two sons of the Raja. Even before the death of Bheema Deb, his elder son Pudmanabh Aunanga Bheema Deb or Mone Deb was promised a handsome possession of the zemindary, and he had retained the possession of Pratapgerry by interference of the Resident at Ganjam. After Bheema Deb's death, the zemindary Vizianagar was divided between the brothers Pudmanabh Aunanga Bheema Deb and Jaganath Deb. Thus a new zemindary, Pratapgerry, was the result.[40] Similar was the case with the question of succession of the Ghumsur zemindary. Kissan Bhunge had bequeathed his zemindary before his death, to his second son Vickran Bhunge. Thus he had intentionally excluded his elder son Lutchman Bhunge from the line of succession. Kissan Bhunge died in December, 1773.[41]

These situations brought the Company good opportunity to handle the affairs tactfully. It interfered directly with the business of succession to gain more benefit to its own

interest. The Company had no good opinion about Vickram Bhunge. In former years, Vickram Bhunge had given protection to the Raja of Surada and encouraged him to withdraw the payment of tribute to the Company. Supported by Vickram Bhunge, the Raja of Surada had not paid his tribute for some time. This was against the interest of the Company. This was one of the Chief causes that provoked the Chief at Ganjam to act against Vickram Bhunge. Moreover all the Rajas of the tract by this time had some how submitted their due obedience, but not Ghumsur. Lutchman Bhunge was discontented and was not satisfied with the arrangement of his father. The Chief took advantage of this and negotiated with him secretly against the interests of Vickram.[42]

The Raja of Dharakote, being allied to Lutchman Bhunge, was interested to secure for him a handsome possession. The Chief through him was successful to bring Lutchman Bhunge to his own side. On 15th April, 1774 Lutchman Bhunge left the zemindary Ghumsur and arrived at Dharakote.[43] A campaign against Vickram was organised to fulfil the object.[44] The British authority took steps to prevent help from different zemindars in the Marahata country on the borders of Ghumsur zemindary. The Raja of Dasapalla had for many years afforded protection to Vickram Bhunge, and even assisted with a body of men to encounter with the British troops.[45] The Company prevented the resources of help and the attack was made beyond the limits of Ghumsur zemindary.[46] But Vickram Bhunge had tactfully avoided the conflict and had granted a Jaghire of some villages of an annual tribute of Rs. 6,000/-. This issue was not finalised until 1782. Vickram's submission to the desires of the Company was a time gap for his own preparation. In 1779 he was deprived of his situation and was again restored in 1779 December.[47] It was in 1782 he was finally deprived from his zemindary and was

put in confinement at Ganjam.[48] The zemindary was given to Lutchman Bhunge. On this occasion the Company raised the 'Peshkash' of the zemindary from Rs. 50,000/- to Rs. 1,00,000/-. Thus the desired object of the Company was fulfilled.[49]

On 21st March 1780 Mr. John succeeded Mr. Moragam Williams as resident. At the time news reached that the Marahatas were concentrating their force towards Ganjam. The English Company in the district did not have sufficient number of troops. The sibbundy corps were employed under the renter Balkistna Naidu for collection of revenue. There was an atmosphere of fear of attack until July 1780, when Seikh Mohomed Kaul reached here with message of friendship from the Raja Madoji Bomsle of Nagpore.[50]

At this time in 1782 A.D. Banpur zemindary was in trouble. The Dewan, Harihar Bhramarbar was in collection of assistance from the Rajas of Ghumsur, Havtghur or Athagad and Khallikote. The Company authority at Ganjam gave positive order to these Rajas not to render any aid to him.[51] But these Rajas were in close touch with the changing situation of the neighbouring zemindaries in Orissa.

The Zemindary of Moherry was also not free from internal intrigues. In 1782 Narrinder Deo had executed a deed in favour of the Company and surrendered his zemindary to the Company as he could not pay the revenue to the Company since 1781. In 1782 he was murdered in his own palace. He had no son. The widow Ranee, Krishna Priya Mahadavee had to encounter all the family intrigues that rose around the question of succession to the zemindary. The interested parties were the two brothers of the late Raja Narrinder Deo. Upon this situation the Company took every advantage for its own benefit.[52]

In 1788 Srikara Bhunge succeeded his father Lutchman Bhunge. But Srikara had to resign his situation and the

zemindary at the situation created by the money lender. Vickram Bhunge died in 1791. A pension of Rs. 12,000/- was granted to his family as subsistence under the orders of Govt. dated 7th March, 1792.[53] Till 1795, the zemindary was held by his son Dhanunjaya Bhunge. In 1795, Srikara Bhunge expelled his son Dhanunjaya Bhunge and occupied the zemindary.[54]

At this time there was no good relation between the brothers Moni or Pudmanabh Deo and Jaganath Deo of Vizianagar and Pratapgerry. Both of them were urging opon war with each other, and did not submit to Company's arbitration regarding possession of their respective zemindary. Mone Deo was incapable to keep his zemindary in tranquillity. His infant son was minor. The resident Snodgrass did not trust Mone Deo or Pudmanabh Deo and urged annexation of Vizianagar zemindary to Pratapgerry and appointment of Jaganath Deo as zemindar to both. The Board allowed the Vizianagar zemindary to Jaganatha Deo at a fixed rent and to retain it at the pleasure of the Government.[55] In 1790 Mone Deo, assisted by Sano Deo of Moherry made an irruption into the zemindary of Pratapgerry. From 1790 to 1793 Mone Deo singly resisted all the Company's efforts to reduce him to submission.[56] In 1793 Mone Deo was finally reduced. Jaganath Deo, his brother, had assisted the Company in this regard. But in 1800 A.D. both of these brothers were put in confinement by the Company at Ganjam.[57]

In May, 1790 the Budrasingi zemindar attacked the Mundasa zemindary and burnt 16 villages. In August, the Raja of Mundasa sent his troops to retaliate the past deeds of the zemindar of Budrasingi. In the feud, the Budrasingi zemindar was wounded severely and escaped death. He had abandoned his zemindary for three years and lived in the Maliahs.[58]

Sano Deo, the younger brother of late Narrinder Deo

of Moherry, played a vital and prominent role in the politics of the region at this time. He had received every support and assistance from all the zemindars of the tract to act against the Company. His general campaign against the Company authority at Ganjam with the unification of all the Rajas was about to attain its height. But the general famine and location of additional troops in the district had subsided the rising for some years.[59] Sano Deo was captured by Brajabala Das in 1793.[60]

The Zemindar of Jellentra died in 1790. He had an infant son. But Sana Padsha or Sano Padsha, the brother of the late Raja, wanted to exclude his nephew from succession and to take possession of the zemindary for himself. In this efiort he was assisted by the zemindar of Turla. He had carried the minor with his mother from the fort of Jellentra and kept them in confinement until 1797. In 1797 he was driven out of the zemindary by Mr. Snodgrass, under the captainship of Fletcher and Spencer. Sano Padsha took refuge in the Jaypore country and then in Parlakhemundi zemindary.[61]

In 1799 Srikara Bhunge, the Zemindar or the Raja of Ghumsur was in arms against the Company. In 1801 he was joined by Sano Padsha, the pretender of the Jellentra zemindary, and Jaganath Deo of Parlakhemundi.[62] Taking the opportunity of the time, the brothers Mone Deo and Jaganath Deo of Vizianagar escaped from Ganjam and were found at the head of their followers. Encouraged by the attitude of the Ghumsur Raja, a confederation of the zemindars was the result.[63] Berhampur was threatened by the force of Mone Deo, while Aska by the whole body of the Ghumsur Paiks.

The troops of Mone Deo and of the Raja of Seragada and other adherents were to join the troop of Ghumsur. Major Pallas' troops were engaged to check the march of these forces.[64] Jaganath Deo of Parlakhemundi joined

Srikara at Ghumsur. In the field the Raja of Seragada was shot dead by a six-pounder gun.[65]

Colonel Morley, a Bengal Officer was appointed to command the troops in the district. He had reached Ganjam on 2nd May, 1801 with two battalions of the 6th regiment. The 10th regiment from Chicacole also joined the troops. On 9th May a proclamation was issued declaring Srikara Bhunge a rebel and a reward of Rs. 10,000/- was offered for his apprehension. On 14th May the troops under Colonel Morley attacked a stockade of the Raja and the rebels were dispersed off in every direction. On 23rd May the barriers and stockade of Durgaprasad were carried after some resistance.[66] The troops of the zemindars fled into the hills. In 1801 Srikara Bhunge was deposed and his son Dhanunjaya was appointed zemindar.[67]

Mone Deo and Jaganath Deo were also declared out laws. In 1805 the Government declared a reward of Rs. 5,000/- each. Jaganath Deo was captured at the village Beerkote, on the borders of Badagad. Mone Deo and Jaganath Deo were succeeded by Balabhadra Deo and Chandramani Deo respectively. The family feud did not cease. After Balabhadra's death Chandramani came to terms with Mone Deo to make a common cause against the Company.[68]

During the years 1799-1800 disturbances in Kimedy took place concurrently with that in Ghumsur. The Raja, Gajapaty Deo and his son had been sent to Masulipatam. This did not quieten the insurgents. Jaganath Deo, the step brother of Gajapaty Deo joined with the insurgents. The rebels were finally reduced by Colonel Vigors with the assistance and advice of Doorga Rauz. During the disturbance Lieutenant Youngson was taken prisoner by the insurgents and took him into the Maliahs. But he was released. The Government declared a reward of Rs. 10,000/- for the apprehension and capture of Jaganath Deo of

Parlakhemundi. In 1804 the Raja of Surada seized and delivered him to the Government. He was sent as a prisoner to Masulipatam.[69]

The collaborative movement of the zemindars against the Company failed. The insurgents in other parts of the Ganjam region who were under the leadership of Mahertah or Mahurat or Mahauratha and Sonnapadhshah no longer found asylum in the jungles of Vizianagar and Suringy.[70]

The Company's involvement in the matters of succession had great impact upon the Social and Economic life of the inhabitants. Frequent movements of troops and the continual challenge between the adherents of different parties brought an atmosphere of insecurity to life and property of the inhabitants in general.[71] It also affected severely in the revenue of the Company.[72]

The Jeypore zemindary presents a different history. In 1752, Viziaram Rauz, the Raja of Vizianagaram had obtained this zemindary from the Subadar of Deccan as Jaghire. Vickram Deo took a fierce battle against the French at Malkangiri; and another that followed was against the Marahatas at Umerkote.[73] The English Company after assumption of its authority over the Circars had confirmed the said Jaghire upon the Raja of Vizianagaram on condition of his uninterrupted obedience and service to the Company.[74] But on frequent revolts and disturbances of the people of the Jeypore, it was restored to the Raja Vickram Deo before 1777. He paid a sum of Rs. 40,000/- annually to the Raja of Vizianagar.[75]

The Committee of Circuit had condemned the oppressive administration of Sitaram Rauz, the Dewan of Vizianagaram over the Jeypore zemindary. It recommended Jeypore to constitute an independent zemindary with a 'Peshkash' of Rs. 35,000/- to be paid to the Company. This recommendation was carried into action in 1794. In this year, considering the neutrality of the Raja of Jeypore, in the revolt

of the preceding years, the Company had granted a permanent 'Sunnud' to Ramachandra Dev. At this time the annual 'Peshkash' was fixed at Rs. 25,000/- annually.[76] The Pragana Kotpad had been held under different terms from the rest of the Jeypore Estate. When the permanent 'Sunnud' was granted to the Raja in 1803, this Pragana was not included in the 'Sunnud'.

Internal disturbances which arose out of succession questions were responsible to bring the East India Company government at Ganjam to implement their well known policy of 'divide and rule'. The most exemplary instances over which the policy executed were the zemindaries of Ghumsur, Vizianagar, Parlakhemundi and Moherry.[77] The Rajas of Ganjam had been always represented strong. This motion and conduct of the Rajas in subsequent years towards the government of the East India Company had resulted in the latter to follow an aggressive policy against the former. The Government had considered that these Rajas had their source of strength from their Revenue and poseession of strong forts. As long as the Rajas were not deprived of these, a peaceful administration of the Company over the tract became impossible.[78] It was a direct way the Company conceived to bring the Rajas to obedience. The status of the Rajas of the region were materially affected.

Under the coercive power of the public cutcherry supported by the Dubash Juggarnaut Rew, Vencataram Pantulu, the head mutseddy in the cutcherry and Brazaballa Dass, the renter, the zemindars were crushed and the whole province became a scene of cruel rapine and scandalous oppression.[79]

REFERENCES

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. V and VII, p. I and 61 by W. W. Hunter.
   - (a) Special Commissioner's Report on Ganjam dated 17th May, 1804.
   - (b) Orissa in the Making, pp. 11-15 by B. C. Mazumdar.
2. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. X, p. 69 (5th edn., Edinburgh).
3. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, Appendix XII, p. 77 (1886, Madras).
   - (a) Board of Revenue (Land Revenue) Proceedings, Forest No. 66 dated 9th April, 1907, p. 11.
4. Estate Land Act Committee Report, p. 8 (App. II), (1938, Madras).
   - (a) Lord Clive and the Establishment of the English in India, pp. 47-48 (Oxford, MCH VII).
   - (b) The Vizagapatam District Manual (Madras, 1869), p. 173.
5. Ganjam Manual, pp. 81-85 by T. J. Maltby (1918, Madras).
6. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 179 (1886, Madras).
   - (a) Board of Revenue (Land Revenue) Proceedings, Forest No. 66 dated 9th April, 1907, p. 112.
7. Estate Land Act Committee Report, Appendix II, p. 12 (1938, Madras).
8. The Rise and Fall of the East India Company : A Sociological appraisal, pp. 109-110 (Berlin, 1958).
9. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 179 (1886, Madras).

10. Ganjam Manual, p. 84 by T. J. Maltby (1918, Madras).

(a) Lord Clive and the Establishment of the English in India, pp. 47-48 (Oxford, McM VII).

11. Ganjam Manual, p. 86 by T. J. Maltby.

12. Ibid, p. 88.

13. The Historical Geography of India, p. III by P. E. Roberts.

(a) The French in India, Ch. I, p. 17 by S. P. Sen.

(b) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, Appendix XII, p. 77.

14. Treaties and Engagements between the Hon. East India Company and the Native Powers in Asia, Vol. I, Plate No. IXVII, p. 165 (O.S.A.P., I-1/102), (1845).

15. Estate Land Act Committee Report, Appendix II, p. 8 (1938, Madras).

16. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, pp. 179-180.

17. Military Consultations dated 12th October, 1765 by Robert Palk, pp. 897-898 and dated 22nd October, 1765, p. 909. (Vol. 23, B-TNAM).

18. The French in India, Ch. I, p. 17 by S. P. Sen.

(a) E.I.A.C. Report, Appendix II, p. 12 (1938-Madras).

19. Military Consultations dated 12th October, 1765 by Robert Palk, pp. 897-898 and dated 22nd October, 1765, p. 909 (Vol. 23-B-TNAM).

(a) Treaties and Engagements between the Hon. East India Company and the Native powers in Asia, Vol. I, Plate No. LXVVII, pp. 165-170 (O.S.A.P-I-1/102) (1845).

20. Ganjam Manual, pp. 91-92 by T. J. Maltby.
21. Guide to the Records of Ganjam district, Ch. II, p. 1.
    (a) Final Report on the Major settlement operation in Ganjam Ex-State areas, p. 4 (Board of Revenue 1936-62).
    (b) Letter from Charles Smith, Esq. Chief and Council at Ganjam to Hon'ble A. Wynch, Fort St. George, dated 7th August, 1774, p. 78 (Vol. 724-GDR TNAM). (Diary and consultation of Charles Smith).
    (c) Mr. Cotsferd's Report on the Purganas and the Zemindars in the Itchapore district dated 16th December, 1769, p. 1 (A.S.O.D.-90/148-TNA).
    (d) Report of the Committee of Circuit on the Zemindars and Havelly lands dependent on Ganjam dt. 25.4 1788, p. 4 (TNAM).
22. Ibid [as in 1 (b)].
    (a) Ganjam Manual, pp. 91-92 by T. J. Maltby.
    (b) Letter from Hon. President and Governor in Council dt. 20th September to Charles Smith, Chief and Council at Ganjam, pp. 121-124 (Vol. 724-TNAM).
23. Mr. Oram's observation on Kimedy, p. 193, (Vol. 18-8-1784, Circuit Committee Record, Board of Revenue, TNAM).
24. Ganjam Manual, pp. 102-104 by T. J. Maltby.
25. Ibid, p. 104.
    (a) Proceeding of the Committee of Circuit in Vizagapatam and Chicacole districts dated 12th September, 1784, pp. 21-23 [Vol. 367(271) TNAM].

26. Letter from Board of Revenue to Government dated 30th May, 1803, (Vol. 822 G.D.R., T.N.A.M.).
27. Proceeding of the Committee of Circuit in Vizagapatam and Chicacole districts dated 12th September, 1784, pp. 21-33, [Vol. 367(271), T.N,A.M.].
28. Report of the Special Commission dated 6th May, 1803, (E.I.A.C. Report, App. XVII-15, p. 340), (Madras 1936).
29. Caboleat executed by Gazapathy Narrain Deo dated 2nd October, 1797, p. 503 (Vol. 740-G.D.R., T.N.A.M.).
    (a) Letter to Gajapathy Narrain Deo, Zamindar of Kimedy from A. Scott, Collector, Chicacole dated 30th September, 1797, pp. 290-291, (Vol. 740-G.D.R., T.N.A.M.).
30. Ibid. (as in 29 .
31. Letter from E. Saunders, to the Hon. Lt.-General Harris, Governor in Council dated 26th February, 1798, pp. 178-180, (Vol. 741, Ganjam Factory Record-Correspondence 1798 T.N.A.M.).
    (a) Letter from W. A. Scott, to Edward Saunders, Esq. Member, Board of Revenue, Fort St. George dated 5th April, 1798, p. 274-A, (Vol. 741).
    (b) To W. Andrew Scott, Collector, 3rd Division of Vizagapatam from J. B. Travers, Revenue Secretary, dated 30th March, 1798, p. 274-A-275A, (Vol. 741-G.F.R., T.N.A.M.).
32. Letter from H. B. Travers, Secretary to Mr. P. Cherry, Collector, Ganjam of the 3rd Division of Vizagapatam dated 15th October, 1800, pp. 27-31 (Vol. 780, Viz. Dist. Record, T.N.A.M.).
    (a) Letter from H. Spottiswood, to the President

and member of Board of Revenue, p. 90 (Vol. 794-G.D.R., Correspondence-T.N.A.M.).

33. Report of the Special Commission on 3rd Division of Vizagapatam on permanent settlement of Havelley of Chicacole and Tekkali with the zemindary of Kimedy in Ganjam district dated 29th April, 1803, pp. 13-24 [Selection from old records relating to Ganjam.-A.S.O.(D) 140 T.N.A.].

(a) Letter from Peter Cherry, Collector, to John Hodgson, Esq., Secretary to the Special Commission, Fort St. George dated 2nd December, 1802, pp. 139-141.

34. Letter from Collector of Ganjam to the President and Member Court of Wards, Fort St George dated 14th November, 1806, p. 2 [A.S.O.(D) 99(123) T.N.A.).

(a) Translate of a letter from Purushottam Gajapaty Narrain Deo, Zemindar of Kimedy, to Francis Augustus Robson, Esq. Collector, dated 28th October, 1805, p. 8 (Vol. A.S.O.-D-89-123 TNA).

(b) Letter from Robert Alexander, to the Magistrate of the Zilla of Ganjam at Ganjam dated 23rd January, 1807, pp. 141-142 (Vol. 786 GDR, TNAM).

35. Letter from Robert Bayard, Asst. Collector to the President and Member, Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, dated 7th July, 1813, p. 184 (Vol. 793, Record of letters sent from Ganjam Collector in the Revenue Deptt., TNAM).

36. Letters from Hon. President and Governor in Council dated 5th August, 1774 to Charles Smith, Chief and Council at Ganjam (Vol. 721-GDR, TNAM), p. 77.

(a) Public Consultations dated 21st August, 1766, p. 396 (Vol. 96-B, T.N.A.M.).

37. Orissa under the Marathas (1751-1803), p. 45 by Dr. B. C. Ray (1960, Allahabad).

38. Ibid.

39. Letter from Hon. Board to Charles Smith, Chief and Council at Ganjam, Dt. 13.7.1774 (Vol. 724-G.D.R., T.N.A.M.), pp. 77-78.

(a) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. III, p. 301 (1886, Madras).

40. Letter from Henry Crawford, Chief and Council at Ganjam, to Sir Charles Oakely, President and Council at Fort St. George dated 12.10.1791, p. 172 (Vol. 702, G.D.R., T.N.A.M).

(a) Letter from G. Slvattom, to Charles Smith, Esq. Chief and Council at Ganjam dated 16.3.1777, p. 69, (Vol. 727, G D.R., T.N.A.M.).

(b) Letter from Robert Bayard, Sub-Collector, to the Collector in the Dist. Ganjam at Chicacole, dt. 6 11.1823, pp. 411-412 (Vol. 3897, G.D.R., T.N.A.M.).

41. As in [40 and 40(a)].

(a) Ganjam Factory Record Correspondance, p. 241 (Vol. 729 G.D.R., T.N.A.M.).

42. Letter to Hon. A Wynch, Fort St. George from Charles Smith, Chief and Council at Ganjam dated 3rd August, 1774, pp. 70-71 (Vol. 724, G.D.R. T.N.A.M.).

43. Ganjam Consultations, Dt. Thursday 5.6.1774, pp. 28-33 (Vol. 724-G.D.R. T.N.A.M).

44. Letter from G. Slvatton, to Charles Smith, Esq., Chief and Council at Ganjam dt. 16.3.1777, p. 69 (Vol. 727 G.D.R. T.N.A.M.).

45. Letter to Capt. Robert Chesshorce, Commanding to troops at Ghumsur from Thomace Brace, Aska dt. 22.4.1779, pp. 17-30. (Selection Committee, Ganjam Consultation, Vol. 689, January, 1779).

46. Letter from Moragam William to President and Select Committee, p. 34 (Vol. 689-T.N.A.M.).

47. Letter from Charles Smith, Chief and Council at Ganjam to Hon. George Stratton, President and Governor in Council, pp. 130-136 (Vol. 727 G.D.R. T.N.A.M.).

    (a) Letter to William Bruce Commanding at Ghumsur, from Moragam Williams Dt. 2.1.1780 (Vol. 730 G.D.R. T.N.A.M.), p. 3.

    (b) Letter from the Hon. President and Council, to John Maxwell Stone, Esq. Chief and Council at Ganjam and Proceeding of the Chief and Council at Ganjam dt. 19.5.1782, p. 2 (Vol. 732 T.N.A.M.).

48. Letter from Moragam William, to President and Select Committee, p. 33 34 (Vol. 689-T.N.A.M.).

    (a) Letter from Robert Chessore, to Morgam William dt. 23.6.1779, pp. 31-35 (Vol. 689-T.N.A.M.).

    (b) Letter from the Right Hon. the President and Council to John Maxwell Stone, Chief and Council at Ganjam, p. 2 (Vol. 732, Proceeding of the Chief and Council 1782, T.N.A.M.).

49. Letter from the Right Hons. the President and Council to John Maxwell Stone, Esq., Chief and Council at Ganjam, Dt. 11.5.1782, p. 2 (Vol. 732).

    (a) Ganjam Consultation dt. 31st May, 1782, pp. 14-18 (Vol. 732-T.N.A.M.).

50. Ganjam Manual, p. 114 by T. J. Maltby.

51. Letter from John Taring to Capt. John Bruce, Commanding at Aska dt. 8.1.1782, pp. 10-11 (Vol. 732 G.D.R. T.N.A.M.).

52. E.I.A.C. Report, Appendix XI, p. 127.
    (a) Ganjam Manual, p. 119 by T. J. Maltby.
    (b) General Report of the Board of Revenue dt. 30th March, 1789, pp. 63-64.

53. Selection from the Records of Ganjam Collectorate, Index No. 83/1837), p. 84.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue, 12th January, 1792, Ganjam, p. 135.

54. Ganjam Manual, p. 127 by T. J. Maltby.

55. From William Brown, Collector, Ganjam dated 15th March, 1800 to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George. p. 52 (A.S.O.D-140-TNA).

56. Ibid.

57. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 14th September, 1792, p. 26.

58. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 23rd July, 1722, pp. 9-11.
    (a) Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby.
    (b) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 28th January, 1793, p. 36.
    (c) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 29th April, 1793, p. 47.

59. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 21st August, 1791, pp. 100-108.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 14th September, 1792, p. 26.
    (b) Ganjam Manual, p. 120 by T. J. Maltby.

60. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 28.1.1793, p. 36.

61. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 31.12.1790, p. 84.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 7th Sept. 1791, pp. 117-118.
    (b) Ganjam Manual, p. 120 by T. J. Maltby (1918, Madras).
62. Ganjam Manual, pp. 126-127 by T. J. Maltby.
    (a) Letter from William Brown, Collector, Ganjam to Peter Cherry, Collector of 3rd Division at Chicacole dt. 11.3.1801, pp. 103-106 (Vol. 780-T.N.A.M.).
    (b) Letter from J. B. Travers, Secretary to Peter Cherry, Collector, 3rd Division at Vizagapatam dt. 17.6.1803, p. 168 (Vol. 780-T.N.A.M.).
63. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 20th February, 1801, p. 28.
64. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 10th October, 1801, p. 83.
    (a) Letter from William Brown, Collector, Ganjam to Peter Cherry, Collector on 3rd Division at Chicacole dated 11th March, 1801, pp. 103-106 (Vol. 780-T.N.A.M.).
65. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 10th October, 1801, p. 83.
66. Ganjam Manual, pp. 127-129 by T. J. Maltby.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 30th January, 1802, pp. 158-159.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 20th June, 1799, p. 133.
70. Letter from William Brown, Collector, Ganjam

dated 15th March, 1800, to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, p. 53 (A.S.O.D. 140-T.N.A.).

71. Selection from the Record of Ganjam Collectorate, 1837, Index No. 83/1837, p. 84.

(a) Ganjam Consultations dated 29.5.1782, p. 23 (Vol. 732 T.N.A.M.).

(b) Letter from the Chief and Council, Ganjam, to Hon. Lord Macartney dt. 1.6.1782, p. 21 (Vol. 732-T.N.A.M).

72. Letter from Henry Crawford, to Hon. Sir Charles Oakeley, President and Council at Fort St. George dt. 12.10.1791 (Vol. 702-G.D.R., T.N.A.M.), p. 174.

73. The Aristocracy of Southern India, p. 72 by A. Vedivelu (1902, Madras).

74. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput , pp. 28-29 by R. C. S. Bell (1945, Orissa Govt., Cuttack).

(a) Nandapur, a forsaken Kingdom, pp. 96-97 by Kumar B. S. Deo.

(b) Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput), p. 270 by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu (1966, Orissa Govt., Cuttack).

75. Report of the Circuit Committee 1783-84. Report of Nandapur Zemindary by Mr. W. Oram, p. 188 (Vol. 18-B-18/17854-T.N.A.M.).

76. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput), pp. 270-281 by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu (1966, Orissa Govt.).

77. Letter from Collector, Ganjam, to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Dated 24th July, 1839, p. 9 [Vol. A.S.O.-D-383(105) T.N.A.].

78. Letters from the Secretary to Government, D. Hill, to the Board of Revenue dt. 24.1.1823, Fort St. George, p. 76 (Vol. 3897-G.D.R., T.N.A.M.).

(a) Report of the Circuit Committee, Board of Revenue Records 1783-84, pp. 167-169 (Vol. 18-A-8/7854). (Oram's observation dt. 12.9.1784).

79. Letter from William Brown, Collector, Ganjam, to the President and Members, Board of Revenue, Fort St. George dated 15th March, 1800, p. 52 (Vol. A.S.O. D-140-T.N.A.).

(a) General report of the Board of Revenue dated 15th February, 1794, Ganjam, pp. 90-91.

(b) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 15th June, 1794, Ganjam, p. 119.

2 THE LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT

The Native System

Land tax was the only source of revenue in southern Orissa during the native Hindu period.[1] There were no other industries or opportunities for trade and commerce. Government had to depend on land revenue, which they collected at 50% for their general administration.[2] The native rulers used to collect both in cash and in kind. When the British occupied this tract their first problem was to deal with the problem of land revenue administration. The nature of the problem was complex and it was difficult for the officers of the East India Company to come to any conclusion. They were ignorant of the local conditions and customs, mode of measurement and laws of ownership in the area. Their earlier experience in the Northern Circars was not helpful. They had to depend on officers recruited at Madras.[3] These officers, some times, without being helpful to the government made the problem more complicated to derive benefit out of their own situation.

The Officers of the East India Company believed in the least possible interference in the matters of land revenue. They did not like to displease the zemindars and the cultivators nor they were prepared to sustain a loss of land

revenue collection. When the East India Company occupied the tract, they simply increased the collection by a few thousand rupees more. They classified land as dry grain, oilseeds, and cotton land. There were also lands allotted for Tobacco and Sugarcane. Rent was fixed according to the ground occupied.[4]

In case of the paddy fields the cultivators were allowed not less than 6/20 or 3/10 and more than 1/2 parts of the productions. According to this calculation the cultivator was to pay 7 to 8 Nauties for cultivating 20 Nauties of land. Before the East India Company came the cultivator was paying less. More often than not, he could delay payment on several grounds. The native rulers some times exempted payment. There were several factors which were taken into account when land revenue was assessed and collected. They were such as :

(a) The weather condition of the year ;
(b) The Productive capacity of the land ;
(c) The location of the land ;
(d) The personal and family condition of the cultivator.

Mere productive capacity of the soil was not sufficient for assessment, if in a particular year weather condition was bad or there was flood or drought, then it was impossible for the cultivator even to make his both ends meet. In such a situation the native rulers, out of sympathy, had exempted land revenue either in part or in full.

The organisation employed by the native Rajas to determine and collect the state share was evolved out of the village communal system.[5] The Raja was not only a ruler, he was the head of the community. Traditionally, the Rajas collected Tax not for themselves but for the community as a whole. The problem of revenue collection was a social and communal problem, rather an affair of a particular ruler or his family. The Rajas, out of the land revenue collection took only minimum to meet their personal expenses. The

rest of the collections were spent on social institutions, like building temples, constructing water dams or constructing communal houses.[6]

During the time of the Mughal Government, there were changes in the method of land revenue. They had appointed the 'Mazumdar' of the Chicacole Circar to collect the land revenue in the South Orissa The Mazumdar in his turn appointed two Gumustas to keep the revenue accounts of this tract. During the period of the Mughals, they could not make any improvement over the native system of land revenue collection.[7] But upon the cession of the Northern Circars to the Company, changes were thought of. The 'Mazumdar' was replaced by the 'Kulkurney' who acted as 'Gumustas' on behalf of the government. The office of the 'Kulkurney' was originally of Maratha origin. In the purgunnas of Poobakhanda or Purbakhanda and Itchapur, these officers were more in number than actually required. They had exacted heavy fees on the people and were burden on them. There were also officers like the 'Kurnum' and 'Naik' attached to a village or group of villages for purposes of revenue collection.[8]

The Southern part of Orissa comprised of two kinds of land. They were the zemindary land the Havelly land.[9] Land which was under the full control of a zemindar and over which he had the right to collect the land revenue was termed as the zemindary land. The Havelly land was the government land. Revenue from the Havelly land was exclusively meant for the military expenses of the government and also for the expenses of the ruling family.[10] The zemindary land was more extensive than the Havelly land.[11] The former extended over 22 zemindaries of the South Orissa tract and the latter was comprised and confined to some purgunnas and Muthas. The zemindaries were such as :[12]

(1) Athagad or Hautghur

(2) Burgur or Badagada

(3) Beerudy
(4) Burasingy or Budasingy
(5) Chikiti
(6) Dharakote
(7) Ghumsur
(8) Huma
(9) Jerada
(10) Jellentra
(11) Jaypore
(12) Khallikote
(13) Moherry
(14) Mundasa
(15) Parlakhemundi
(16) Pratapgerry or Sanakhemundi
(17) Paloor
(18) Seerghur or Seragada
(19) Surada
(20) Suringy
(21) Turla
(22) Vizianagar or Badakhemundi.

The government land or the Havelly land or the Ain land were the Purgunnas such as :

(1) Barwa
(2) Itchapur
(3) Montreddy
(4) Munsurcotta
(5) Ganjam
(6) Poobakhanda or Purbakhanda
(7) Aska
(8) Bawanpore

and the Muthas such as :

(1) Curlah
(2) Ingelly or Hingely
(3) Batagumurada or Bhatakumurada and
(4) Bamanchay or Brahamanchay.

Settlement of the Havellies

The East India Company government for some years could not evolve any decisive policy regarding the administration of the land revenue. It had continued the system which was prevalent them. The government had no time to go through the system, and frequently it was confronted with the hostile attitude of the native rulers which resulted severe consequences on the land revenue administration over the zemindary lands. Government, however, was free to manage the Havelly lands, and as such the Company was at liberty to adopt any kind of measure for its own convenience.[13]

The administration on land revenue of the Havelly lands of Southern Orissa was determined on political and administrative considerations. In 1769, Dubar Akhaji Pundit was allowed to renew his rent for the Ganjam Havelly lands for that year only for Rs. 1,60,000/-.[14] This amount was more in Rs. 92,000/- to that of the amount collected in 1766 under the management of Sitaram Rauz.[15] In 1771 the Ganjam Havelly lands were let to Syamosunder Choudhury for Rs. 1,45,000/.[16] But in subsequent years the Chief and Council at Ganjam determined to change the process of renting in view of their necessity to funds. In 1773 they called proposals to rent the Havelly lands of Ganjam on auction to the highest bidder. Out of several proposals one Jagabandhu Choudhury had offered to pay Rs. 1,00,001/- for the period from 25th September, 1773 to 25th September, 1774. He had expressed his desire to pay a few thousand rupees more, if he was allowed to retain the rentership over these Havelly lands for a term of three years. Accordingly he had expressed to pay Rs. 1,25,000/- in the first year, Rs. 1,45,000/- in the second year and Rs. 1,65,000/- in the third year. The Chief at Ganjam had some negotiations with Jagabandhu Choudhury and let the lands of the Ganjam Havellys for three years by a few thousand rupees

more than the proposal received. The settled amounts were :

Rs. 1,30,000/- for the first year,

Rs. 1,60,000/- for the second year, and

Rs. 1,60,000/- for the third year.

The payment was to be made on three equal instalments on every year on 31st May, July and 25th September.[17] This mode of settlement of Havelly lands was approved by the government.[18] Instead of preferring to annual settlement, which appeared more difficult for administrative reasons, the government had centralised its efforts through an agent for a periodical settlement.

Government was not unconscious of the state of affairs of the tract which hampered much in the collection of land revenue from the Havelly lands. The auction system to a single man often brought problems in collections. The collections of revenue of the Havelly lands became difficult and was less than expected. The deficiency in collections was attributed to the disturbances in the district. To overcome the situation in 1782, the authority at Ganjam thought of a change in the system of auction. It had decided to let the Havelly lands on auction to the principal inhabitants of the villages. The auction was open to all. The real intention of the authority was to enhance the amount of rent by free competition to bid the auction. The authority, however, had the plea of ascertaining the real value of the land. The revenue of the company was not secure during all these years. This uncertainty led them to adopt a variable method from time to time.

By such a measure the principal residents of the villages became responsible for the amount of revenue to forbidden and the payment became more certain. In the capacity of a renter, the village headman became a-security for the whole of his village people. The extension of the rent for a term of years was blended as an opportunity given to the

inhabitants to improve the land under their possession for these years and to bring the waste lands of the village into cultivation. It was pleaded to afford a sense of possession, promote unity and responsibility among the village people.[19] So in the year 1782 instead of letting the whole of the Havelly to a single person, the authority at Ganjam had let each of the Havelly to a single headman separately or to a number of headmen jointly.[20] The revenue out of these Havelly lands amounted to a sum of Rs. 3,10,069/.[21]

This mode of renting the Havelly lands was successful. But it was attended with some problems. Free auction brought an unhealthy competition among the renters. There were chances where a particular village people would not get their village land, and that often went to outsiders. In such cases the ill consequences were many than of the merits. People suffered much under the system and the government derived much through the system. The renters who were from the outside of the village could not get cultivators either from the village they took on rent or from the outside. Cultivators from outside were never accepted by the village people and there was always an atmosphere of resistance. Insecurity in holding and collection in revenue posed a new problem to the government. As an alternative measure, the Havelly Collector of Ganjam Mr. Balfour proposed to let out all the Havelly lands in small subdivisions to individual renters. He had strongly discouraged the system of letting the whole of the Havelly lands to one single headman of the village or on jointly. But the Board did not approve of Mr. Balfour's measure, because the measure already adopted some success.[22]

The government had to change the system on account of the difficulties it experienced at this period. The local authority on political considerations which was the basis of the administration of the East India Company, let the Havelly lands on rent for one year only. The head inhabi-

tants who were allowed to possess the different Havelly lands had agreed to give the following amount of rent[23] for the year 1787 or fusli 1197.

(1)	Munsurcotta	Rs. 12,889/-
(2)	Muntreddy	Rs. 23,570/-
(3)	Curlah	Rs. 7,500/-
(4)	Batagumurada	Rs. 9,140/-
(5)	Barwa	Rs. 11,041/-
(6)	Hingelly	Rs. 9,250/-
(7)	Bavanpore	Rs. 6,000/-
(8)	Terristaum	Rs. 25,105/-
(9)	Aska	Rs. 8,590/-
(10)	Purbakhanda	Rs. 59,962/-
(11)	Itchapore	Rs. 54,370/-
	Total	Rs. 2,33,777/-

Apart from these, the government had retained the management of some Havelly lands. The revenue from these amount to Rs. 35,388-2-2 annas and paise respectively. Also a new settlement of some village under Havelly land yielded a sum of Rs. 1,857-8-0 in the said year. In all these amounted to Rs. 2,71,022-10-2 annas and paise. The settlement of the year 1787 was more in amount of the previous year. In 1786 the revenue of the Havelly land amounted to Rs. 2,10,430/-.[24] The division of the Havelly lands among the numerous renters brought an increased amount of revenue to the company government.[25] It involved the government less in the affairs of revenue administration. It worked well to the satisfaction of the government with least interference in the matter. This consequently led the authority at Ganjam to extend the term of holding to three years. The three years settlement of Havelly lands in 1792 or fusli 1201 was made for Rs. 2,81,935/-, for the fusli 1203 or 1792 A.D. and for fusli 1203 or 1794 A.D. the amounts were Rs. 2,84,668/- and Rs. 2,88,036/- respectively. This three years settlement had

exceeded by Rs. 96,508/- to that of settlement of the preceding three years.[26]

In the meanwhile i.e. in 1791 the zemindary of Moherry was converted into a Havelly land. In the said year Mr. Crawford settled the rent of the zemindary, i.e. converted Havelly, with the inhabitants to the amount of Rs. 1,23,716-4-0.[27] The government had retained the management of that zemindary for one year i.e. from 25th March, 1792 to 25th March, 1793. With the expectation of obtaining an increased revenue from the zemindary.[28] But its disturbed affair did not permit the government to retain long the management. In the following year the authority at Ganjam desired to let the zemindary to the head inhabitants for a period of five years. This measure the Company could not take or implement, because the head inhabitants were of indifferent and their conduct arose a serious suspicion in government.[29] Subsequantly, it was placed under the management of the Havelly Collector Mr. Webb.[30]

In the year 1793 an amount of Rs. 3,500/- was granted as remission to the renters of the Havelly lands on account of the loss caused by the depredations of Sanadeo's Peons. The loss was said to have more than Rs. 20,000/-.[31]

In 1794 a separate establishment for the administration of Havelly lands was conceived as an extra burden to the government and as such it was abolished in the said year. The management of Havelly lands was transferred to the Collector, Mr. Balfour. He had preferred five years settlement and accordingly he had received the proposals and issued the lands on lease. But the Board of Revenue did not approve and confirm the measures of the Collector. It had postponed confirmation of the proposals received. In such a situation, the authority at Ganjam had again reverted back to the practice of annual settlement.[32] For the year 1796 the revenue derived from the Havelly lands[33] was Rs. 2,08,998/-.[34] In the said year the Havelly of Moherry and

Ganjam were separated from the charges of Mr. Balfour and placed under the acting Collector Mr. Gorden.[34] On the resignation of Mr. Gorden, these were placed again under the Collector Mr. Balfour, who was reappointed to the Havellys.[35] In the following year i.e. 1797 A.D. the revenne amounted to Rs. 1,05,510/-. In 1797, Mr. Snodgrass succeeded Mr. Balfour. The Collector Mr. Snodgrass reported that from the common abundance of grain, the settlement of Havelly lands for a terms of five years had been postponed. As the offers were made upon the calculation of the prevailing prices, annual settlement became a necessity.[36]

The settlement of the year 1797 was a settlement of quite deficient to that of the 1796 settlement. According to the Committee of Circuit the gross revenue of Ganjam Havelly lands was Rs. 2,81,000/-. All these yearly settlements were considered inadequate in view of the report of the Circuit Committee.

To improve the revenue of the Havelly lands on a more secure and adequate means, Mr. Sondgrass had proposed to let the Havelly lands on lots ranging from Rs. 2,000/- to Rs. 5,000/- jumma. These were to be declared permanent. The property in the soil were to be vested in the purchasers and their heirs. These lands were subject to sale for arrears of revenue. This mode of revenue settlement was conceived to afford more security to the poor ryots.[37]

Till the introduction of the Permanent settlement, annual settlement was adopted in the Havelly lands. The revenue those brought in the year 1801 was Rs. 2,96,950/-. Out of this sum the amount collected was Rs. 2,94,908/-.[38]

With the introduction of the Permanent settlement in the Presidency in between the years 1802-1803, the Havelly lands of southern Orissa were divided into convenient sizes to yield a revenue ranging from Rs. 3,500/- to Rs. 17,500/- annually. These were given on auction to the highest bidder.[39] With this new system, the mode of collection of

the revenue was also determined. It was a change of the former system. Under the changed system the revenue was realised in November, January and March of every fusli year at 16½%, 52½% and 16½% respectively of the rent amount.[40]

In the Havelly land the government had not adopted a systematic mode of settlement. In early years of its administration, it gave the whole of Ganjam Havelly to one single person, because it needed time to establish itself firmly. In latter years it brought to picture the head inhabitants of the village to balance itself against the zemindars. In its land revenue administration, the political and commercial considerations played vital role. The Company government made settlement with the people on these considerations. The Company was involved in grain trade. The people had paid their rent partly in kind and partly in cash. There were no adequate circulating medium. Export on grain was encouraged on the plea to accumulate adequate dubs (money).

Generally, in the years of abundance the government had made annual settlements with the people of the Havelly land. In days of abundance the prices of grain would come down and the people would sell more of their grains to accumulate money. The government would also get more grain as its rental share. In either way the Company government was benefited, as the rent was determined upon the calculation of the prevailing market price.[41]

In making small divisions, the Havelly lands became a good source of secure revenue to the company. The intention was nothing but to obtain an increased amount of revenue from these lands.[42] With the divisions, the government encouraged competition among the peaceful peasants and ultimately grew a demand and stimulated a desire in the population to hold land. The value of the land was increased, and with that the revenue too. But this fluctuating system was to last for few years. With the introduction of the Permanent settlement, the people of the Havelly lands

were protected from the evils of the fluctuating system. A permanency in rent together with their proprietary right on the soil was a boon conferred upon them to legalise their ryotwar right in future days to come.

Settlement with the Zemindar

The revenue collection of the Company from the zemindary lands was attended with more complicated problems and severe consequences. The system of administration under the charge of provincial chief and councils was similar to that of the Bengal districts.[43] On the establishment of British authority in the year 1769 over the Northern Circars, the zemindars were described by the presidency of Fort St. George as "lands held by certain Rajas or chiefs, as their hereditary estates, paying a certain tribute to the government, and being subject to suit service in a manner very similar to the ancient feudal territories".[44]

Until 1778, the zemindary lands in the Northern Circars were annually settled. In the said year Thomas Rambold made a five year settlement. This measure was viewed as most helpful both to the government and to the zemindars from their own point of view. The government's revenue collection from the zemindary lands was always insecure. The zemindars did not pay their tribute regularly. The company engage troops to collect the revenue from the zemindars.[45]

In 1767, the Company government succeeded to settle the tribute with some zemindars, only after enforcement of force. They were as follows :[46]

Ghumsur	Kissan Bhunge	1767	Rs. 30,001-0-0
		1768	Rs. 30,001-0-0
Baurasingy	Nissunk	1767	Rs. 3,001-0-0
		1768	Rs. 3,001-0-0
Jellentra	Chot Row	1767	Rs. 1,501-0-0
		1768	Rs. 1,501-0-0

Jerrada	Sant Row	1767	Rs. 7,501-0-0
		1768	Rs. 7,501-0-0
Mundasa	Rajmone Deo	1767	Rs 18,501-0-0
		1768	Rs. 18,501-0-0
Saringy	Hurrichunder	1767	Rs. 12,001-0-0
		1768	Rs. 12,001-0-0

Whereas in the previous year from the Ganjam zemindars the revenue collected by the deputies of Sitaram Rauz amounted to Rs. 3,08,800/-.[47] Annual settlement of the company with the zemindars became a matter of law and order of the region. The engagement of the troops for the collection of the land revenue did not profit the government in any manner.

The tribute collected from the zemindars became heavy and out of the proportion to the size of their estate. For this reason the zemindars or the Rajas of the South Orissa region were unable to pay their dues regularly and in full to the company. Under political considerations, the company had increased or enhanced the Jumma or settlement revenue on the zemindary lands every year. There was no uniformity in the mode of annual settlement. Formerly, the Raja of Ghumsur, Kissan Bhunge, paid Rs. 30,000/- to the Company. But it was raised to Rs. 50,000/- by the company before it confirmed Vickram Bhunge's possession over the zemindary.[48] Similarly, Pudmanabh Aunanga Bheema Deo during his Rajaship over the zemindary of Pratapgerry paid a tribute of Rs. 25,000/- annually.[49] Formerly, Pratapgerry was under the Rajaship of Aunanga Bheema Deo, the Raja of Vizianagar and he had paid Rs. 20,000/- for his entire estate.[50]

Failure in the payment of the tribute had resulted many ill consequences both on the political and social and economic aspects of the region. The zemindars assigned a portion of their estate to the company for the amount that became due against them as arrears to the company. The

company had collected the revenue from those assigned villages by its own officers, the Tehesildars. In 1773 the Rajas of Vizianagur and Pratapgerry had assigned some villages for an amount of Rs. 41,070/- and Rs. 47,005/- respectively. This amount became due to the company during the time of Bheema Deo, the Raja of Vizianagar.[51]

Collection of revenue by the company was always attended with difficulties. In the year 1779, the company government had decided to appoint renter for the collection of revenue from the zemindars of the region. Accordingly, on 27th August, 1779, Balkistna Naidu was appointed renter for a period of ten years. The zemindars of the district Ganjam were to pay their tribute to the company through the renter. But this system was not successful for many reasons. The zemindars trusted little on the management of the renter, and the government too was greatly dissatisfied with the latter. In October, 1781 the government had revoked the 'Cowle' that was issued to the renter to the dissatisfaction of the zemindars.[52]

But the practice of putting renter to the assigned villages and estates was not given up. These were put to different renters on auction. The assigned villages of Vizianagar and Pratapgerry were given to Bala Raw, the highest bidder.[53] The zemindary of Jellentra in 1777 was given to Mr. M. Hughes for five years. The payment for these years were settled on the following amount.[54]

For the First year it was	Rs. 8,000/-
Second year	Rs. 10,000/-
Third year	Rs. 13,000/-
Fourth year	Rs. 17,000/-
and the Last year	Rs. 22,000/-

The Moherry zemindary under assignment was given to Corsugee Lala. He had proposed to pay Rs. 60,006/- from first October, 1781 to 31st August, 1783. The Company had given him a sum of Rs. 25,000/- as credit to account the

jumma due from the zemindary to the company for the year 1781 or fusli 1191. The rest of the amount he had proposed to pay on three instalments or kists i.e. Rs. 5,000/- on 30th September, 1782, Rs. 15,003/- on 30th January, 1783 and Rs. 15,003/- on 31st March, 1783.

The Company had shown some favour to Corsugee Lala. For the year i.e. 1784-85 he was allowed to retain the rentership of that zemindary. The amount he had offered to pay was Rs. 50,005/-. This proposal was accepted by the government and accordingly he was given a 'Cowle' or patta. Under this deed he was to possess the zemindary till 31st March, 1785.[55] The management of Corsugee Lala in the collection of revenue gave confidence to the authority and in that confidence he was given the rentership of many zemindaries of the district Ganjam. He also became a surety to many of the zemindars, and had retained the management of several estates under him and his family members as sureties. They were the zemindaries of Ghumsur, Chikity, Dharakote and Moherry and Jellentra.[56]

In exceptional cases the assigned villages were given in management to the Rajas or zemindars, provided their bid was higher to the other proposals received and their conduct towards the company proved beneficial in general interest. In the year 1782 the Raja of Vizianagar got his assigned villages for a jummabundy or settlement of the following amount for five years from 1782 to 1787.[57]

Jummabundy from 25th September, 1782 to 15th Marth, 1783, six months	Rs. 12,500/-	
Old Balance	Rs. 8,500/-	21,000/-
From April, 1783 to 31st March, 1784 for one year	Rs. 25,000/-	
Old Balance	Rs. 9,500/-	34,500/-

From April, 1784 to 31st March, 1785 for one year	Rs. 25,000/-	
Old Balance	Rs. 9,500/-	34,500/-
From April, 1785 to 31st March, 1786 for one year	Rs. 25,000/-	
Old Balance	Rs. 10,500/-	35,500/-
From April, 1786 to 31st March, 1787 for one year	Rs. 25,000/-	
Old Balance	Rs. 9,683-15-0	34,683-15-0

In the year 1787 the company got the zemindary of Khallikote assigned and gave on rent to Govind Das for three years.[58]

In the year 1782 the company got its jummabundy to a maximum amount from the zemindary of Ghumsur. Lutchman Bhunge possessed the zemindary and Vickram Bhunge was deprived of that on Company's political as well as administrative interests.[59] The jummabundy with Lutchman Bhunge was determined in the following manner.[60]

From the fusli year commencing from 25th September, 1782-1783.

1782-83	First year	Rs. 85,000/-
1783-84	Second year	Rs. 90,000/-
1784-85	Third year	Rs. 1,05,000/-
1785-86	Fourth year	Rs. 1,10,000/-
1786-87	Fifth year	Rs. 1,10,000/-

In the zemindaries, the jummabundy or settlement was not made on any fixed principles. It fluctuated on political and administrative considerations. One of the evils of such discriminate measure was that waste lands, which were cultivable, were not brought under cultivation. It was due to a natural dislike and an apprehension of an increased jummabundy on a just proportion of the crops.[61]

Each and every zemindary of the district Ganjam was settled heavily.[62] This was one of the reasons that failed

all the Rajas to pay the settled tribute amount in full. In addition to their usual tribute, they had to clear off the old balances of the past years which became due on cumulative process. Until the introduction of the permanent settlement the Rajas or zemindars of the region were not given any relief out of their long pending dues against the company. Statement 'A' is an account of the revenue paid and old balances of the Rajas, which became due against them in different years.

The Board of Revenue, which was formed in the presidency in the year 1786, had always expressed its hope to raise the revenue assessment and collection of the district. As such the zemindary of Dharakote, jummabundy of which for the fusli 1197 or 1787 A.D. was Rs. 25,000/-, was raised to Rs. 28,000/-, Beerudy from Rs. 4,000/- to Rs. 5,300/-, Athagada from Rs. 37,000/- to Rs. 52,000/- and Seragada and Jerrada by Rs. 200/- each on their usual tribute in the fusli year 1199 or 1789 A.D. commencing from 25th September, 1789 to 25th September, 1790. In the previous fusli year 1198 or 1788 A.D. the revenue collection from the zemindars amounted to Rs. 4,15,523-0-0.[63]

Annual settlement, especially with the zemindars, had many disadvantages for the government of the company. A proposal to make the 'jumma' or 'tribute' permanent or fixed for a term of years was entertained both by the district authority and the Board of Revenue. The government considered more of the supposed measure from the point of its relation with the Rajas of the tract.[64] Finally, the Board of Revenue in 1790 had resolved to commence the jummabundy or settlement with the zemindars for a term of years.[65] The proposed jumma or settlement amount was based upon the estimate of the Committee of Circuit, whose calculation was hypothetical. The proposed amount was in no way less to the amount what they paid earlier.[66]

The amount proposed by the government was not

enforced by the district authorities in general. They hesitated to insist the Rajas to raise their tribute according to the desire of the government, because they felt that already there was an increase in the tribute of some zemindars.[67] The renters of Seragada and Jerrada had agreed to the small increase of Rs. 200/- each on their usual jummabundy. But all other zemindars pleaded their inability to increase their jummabundy to that standard, as under,[68] and a huge amount became due against them on Company account.[69]

	Name of the Zemindary	*Settlement proposed for 1790 commencing from 25th September 1789 to 25th September, 1790*	*Balance due on 7th June 1790*
1.	Athagada or Huntghar	Rs. 52,000/-	Rs. 33,000/-
2.	Burgur or Badagad	Rs. 4,000/-	Rs. 2,000/-
3.	Berudy	Rs. 5,300/-	Rs. 750/-
4.	Burasingy	Rs. 700/-	Rs. 660/-
5.	Chikiti	Rs. 35,000/-	Rs. 11,700/-
6.	Dharakote	Rs. 28,000/-	Rs. 8,200/-
7.	Ghumsur	—	—
8.	Huma	Rs. 2,000/-	—
9.	Jerada	Rs. 2,000/-	—
10.	Jellentra	Rs. 5,000/-	Rs. 4,400/-
11.	Khallikote (assigned)	Rs. 34,000/-	Rs. 3,700/-
12.	Moherry	Rs. 45,000/-	Rs. 15,000/-
13.	Mundasa	Rs. '5,000/-	Rs. 4,500/-
14.	Pratapgerry	Rs. 22,000/-	Rs. 11,500/-
15.	Paloor	Rs. 2,000/-	Rs. 1,200/-
16.	Sergur	Rs. 6,000/-	Rs. 1,500/-
17.	Surada	Rs. 3,000/-	—
18.	Suringy	Rs. 4,000/-	Rs. 5,000/-
19.	Turla	Rs. 3,000/-	Rs. 2,500/-
20.	Vizianagar	Rs. 25,000/-	Rs. 21,000/-
			Rs. 159,911/-

In 1790, the revenue collection of the zemindary of Moherry became a subject of dispute between the Ranee and the resident at Ganjam. On 17th April, 1786 Corsugee Lala entered into a private agreement with the Ranee and became surety for her. On his death in 1789, his brother Narsawanjee succeeded to the suretyship of his brother and accordingly paid revenue of that zemindary to the Company in that capacity. But his suretyship expired after fusli 1199 or 1789 on 25th March, 1790. So he did not consider himself answerable for the performance of the Ranee's engagement with the company. However, the Board of Revenue directed Narsawanjee to make payment of the revenue for the said year 1790. The Board of Revenue gave reasonable assistance and aid to him to recover the balances, but did not take cognizance of that private agreement with the Ranee. The motive was that cognizance would tend to weaken the Company's claim upon Narsawanjee as he was not only the surety but also had the management of the zemindary in his own hands. An amount of Rs. 24,416-5-7 which remained due against him on company account for fusli 1199-1200, was adjusted on account of maintaining peon establishment for that year.[70]

In the following year i.e. 1791, the zemindary of Jellentra was obtained by the Company as an assignment. The Resident Mr. Crawford let out that zemindary to Brajabala Dass for five years. The rent of the said zemindary for the first and second year was determined at Rs. 9,000/- and an increase of Rs. 1,000/- annually for the remaining three years.[71] But shortly afterwards he represented to recede from his engagement for some reasons. In such a situation the authority at Ganjam transferred the rent to Narsawanjee Gerstah, who had offered to hold the zemindary on the same terms, on which it was granted to Brajabala Dass. The Board of Revenue inclined to acquise the change on reason of lateness.[72]

At this period scarcity of grain due to draught became more apparent. On this ground, Narsawanjee represented his inability to perform the engagements he had entered into for Jellentra. He prayed to hold the assignment from fusli 1201 or 1791 A.D. on the ground that there was no grain in the zemindary to the amount of Rs. 1,500/- in the fusil year 1200 or 1790 A.D. The Board of Revenue did not admit the untimely and unreasonable request on the principle that, "a person in offering to rent on a long lease calculates upon the average of good and bad seasons".[73]

The jummabundy or settlement of the land revenue with the zemindars, exclusive of Moherry in 1791 A.D. amounted to Rs. 3,16,000/-.[74] In the said year the Khallikote assignment was let out to Badapanda for a period of five years. The rent settled was Rs. 42,000/- to be paid in first year, and in the succeeding years an increase of Rs. 1,000/- annually on the said amount.[75] Some of the villages were left in the personal management of the young Raja or zemindar, out of which he derived a sum of Rs. 11,500/- as revenue.[76]

At this time, the resident at Ganjam was motivated by Narsawanjee to suspend Srikar Bhunge from Ghumsur zemindary. Narsawanjee, the surety for him had misrepresented many facts concerning the conduct of the renter of that zemindary that rendered the collection of land revenue difficult. But the Board of Revenue questioned the necessity of such a change.[77]

In 1792, the Burasingy zemindary was rented to the Mundasa zemindar. Balkistna Naidu, the late renter of the district had to pay a sum of Rs. 97,976/- to the company on account of revenue he had collected from different zemindars on the past years. His presence in Ganjam for some years was restricted by the government suspecting a collusive resistance between him and the zemindars against the company. Until 1793, he could not liquidate the sum that

became due against him on company account.[78] The jummabundy or settlement of land revenue made with the zemindars for the year 1792 amounted to Rs. 3,60,000/-[79]. The management of Vizianagar zemindary was given to Jaganath Deo, the Raja of Pratapgerry on an annual rent at a sum of Rs. 21,560/-.[80]

In 1794, the zemindary of Pratapgerry was brought under assignment due to heavy arrear of revenue and was rented to Brajabala Dass for five years on an average annual rent of Rs. 28,000/-. The rent amount was in excess of the established jumma by Rs. 6,000/-. The zemindar Jaganath Deo was allowed to retain some Jagheer villages on payment of Rs. 5,000/- per annum.[81] The renter held the zemindary from 12th July, 1794.[82]

In 1795, a sum of Rs. 35,000/- became due on Ghumsur zemindary on account of uncollected revenue. Of this amount a sum of Rs. 10,000/- was on account of unpaid old balances and Rs. 25,000/- of the uncollected revenue of 1794 jummabundy or settlement. In the following year the jummabundy was made at Rs. 1,25,000/-. Considering this amount too high, Mr. Gorden recommended to reduce the jumma to Rs. 1,10,000/-. Of this sum Rs. 1,00,000/- was to be credited on account of current jumma and Rs. 10,000/- on account of old balances, leaving Rs. 25,000/- in the general aggregate of balances.[83]

The jummabundy of Ganjam with zemindars for 1795, 1796 and 1797 was made at Rs. 4,30,200/-, Rs. 4,30,100/-[84] and Rs. 4,51,223/- respectively. In fusli 1207 or 1797 a sum of Rs. 1,81,773/- was collected out of the amount settled for that year. Low collection in the land revenue amount was attributed to a fall in prices of grain, scarcity in the supply of species and reduced credit of the zemindars.[85]

The government had devised a plan in the manner of presents to zemindars to encourage regular payment of their tribute. It was a favour conferred upon the zemindars by

the Company at the time of their payment of jummabundy. This was an easy mean to the company to induce the Rajas or the zemindars of the tract to regularise their sum of payment properly. But very few Rajas had the advantage of this favour, as most of them were in rebellion and arms against the company.[86]

The surities had appropriated a large amount that arose from the revenue collection of the zemindaries for their own advantage.[87] Still the government was not in favour of discontinuing the practice. First, because, the practice of suretyship enabled the company to realise the revenue of the zemindary lands satisfactorily. Secondly, the company believed that the sureities took more interest to bring the waste land of the zemindary under cultivation. Thirdly, the sureties became the joining link between the company and the zemindars for better administrative conveniences. Fourthly, they pursued the zemindars to make good of their payments and fulfil the engagement made with the company.[88]

In fact, the renters and the surities were in no way helpful either to the company or to the zemindars. They caused to both of these heavy loss in land revenue.[89] The sureties often misrepresented many facts concerning their suretyship, liability of a zemindar, manipulated the jumma accounts and always took an advantageous position out of the bitter relations between the company and zemindars. When they apprehended a chance of little loss in the collection of revenue to their advantage they threatened the company to withdraw their engngements. They also claimed contingency for other expenses which they had incurred either as a renter or as a suretyship.[90] The government had granted them from time to time such amount and in certain cases debited the amount from their jumma amount. These men were the main source to cause bitterness between the company and the zemindars. Owing to the intrigues of these

renters the zemindary of Moherry, Khallikote and Jellentra remained under assignment for long years. Even the zemindary of Ghumsur did not escape from these persons.[91]

The temporary settlement had many evils. Until the introduction of the permanent settlement, the land revenue administration and policy of the company was a political measure against the Rajas of the tract. The Company was in need of money and with this background the revenue collection was increased. Hardly, there was any consideration to improve the material condition of the people. Economic drain of the tract had reduced the zemindars and the people to a state of impoverishment.[92]

Appendix 'A'

Settlement proposed and made for different fuslies for the different zemindars and the amount collected or balance rendered due. The period was from 25th Sept. 1786 to 25th Sept. 1787 and settlement proposed.

Sl. No.	*Name of the Zemindary*	*Name of the Zemindar*	*Fusli 1196 or 1785 A.D.*	*Fusli 1197 or 1787 A.D.*	*Fusli 1199 or 1790 A.D.*
1.	Athagad or Hartghur	Hurry Chunder	37,000	37,000	52,000
2.	Burgur or Badagad	Premanand Singh	4,000	4,000	4,000
3.	Berudy	Mahur-tah	4,000	4,000	5,300
4.	Burasingy or Budasingy	Nyshink	700	700	700
5.	Chikiti	Rajendra Deo	35,000	35,000	35,000
6.	Darakote	Kistna Sing	25,000	25,000	28,000
7.	Ghumsur	Lutchman Bhunge	1,00,000	1,00,000	—
8.	Huma	Sant Raw	2,000	2,000	2,000
9.	Jerada	Sant Raw	2,000	2,000	2,000
10	Jellentra	Chot Raw	5,000	5,000	5,000
11.	Khallikote (Renter)		34,000	34,000	34,000
12.	Moherry	Krushnapriya Mahadavee	45,000	45,000	45,000
13.	Mundasa		15,000	15,000	15,000
14.	Pratapgerry	Jaganath Deo	22,000	22,000	22,000
15.	Paloor	Gazendra	2,000	—	2,000
16.	Sergar	Athwady Sing	6,000	6,000	6,000
17.	Surada	Ray Sing	3,000	3,000	3,000
18.	Suringy	Hurry Chunder	4,000	4,000	4,000
19.	Turla	Raghunath Suer	3,000	3,000	3,000
20.	Vizianagar	Pudmanabh Aunanga Bheem Deo	25,000	25,000	25,000

Balance due on each Zemindar on the fusli

Sl. No	*Name of the Zemindary*	*Old balance on 1196 or 1786 A.D.*	*1197 or 1787 A.D.*	*1199 or 1790 A.D.*
1.	Athagad or Hautghur	—	—	—
2.	Burgur or Badagad	4,550	4,600	6,200
3.	Berudy	2,000	1,385-12-5	—
4.	Burasingy or Budasingy	300	350	350
5.	Chikiti	7,151	715	715
6.	Darakote	15,000	7,438-15-10	—
7.	Ghumsur	60,000	60,000	—
8.	Huma	700	700	800
9.	Jerada	1,200	1,300	1,500
10.	Jellentra	1,750	1,800	2,000
11.	Khallikote	9,500	8,000	9,000
12.	Moherry	Nothing done		
13.	Mundasa	5,000	5,000	5,000
14.	Pratapgerry	7,000	7,000	7,000
15.	Paloor	650	800	1,000
16.	Sergur	2,000	2,100	2,300
17.	Surada	1,700	1,750	3,000
18.	Suringy	4,200	4,400	5,000
19.	Turla	3,000	3,000	3,000
20.	Vizianagar	—	—	10,000

Amount settled and collected for the year 1801 A.D. and settled for 1802 A.D. with old balances and amount uncollected of fusli 1801.

Sl. No.	Name of the Zemindary	1801 Demand	1801 Collection	Settlement 1802
1.	Athagad or Hautghur	72,000	72,000	60,866-1-4
2.	Burgur or Badagad	4,000	1,655	6,345
3.	Berudy	7,156	6,156	7,012
4.	Burasingy or Budasingy	700	700	700
5.	Chikiti	58,530	58,530	43,065
6.	Dharakote	38,000	38,000	28,000
7.	Ghumsur	45,000	41,895	65,000
8.	Huma	2,452	2,000	2,000
9.	Jerada	3,250	3,097	2,750
10.	Jellentra	Assigned		
11.	Khallikote	Assigned		
12.	Moherry	Assigned		
13.	Mandasa	16,000	13,952	16,077-8-0
14.	Pratapgerry	14,000	8,197	22,000
15.	Paloor	3,002	2,552	2,552
16.	Sergur	8,000	8,000	7,600
17.	Surada	3,800	1,787	4,213
18.	Suringy	7,500	7,500	6,000
19.	Turla	4,630-8-0	4,630-8-0	3,500
20.	Vizianagar	30,000	19,120	30,000
		3,17,318-8-0	2,89,071-8-0	3,06,880-9-4

Of the total jumma Rs. 3,06,880-9-4, the settlement made for the fusli 1212 or 1802 A.D. amounted to Rs. 2,73,300/-. A sum of Rs. 33,580-9-4 was on account of old balance.

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Introduction of Permanent Settlement

In 1799 positive orders were sent from England directing the government at Madras to adopt permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis in the Madras Presidency.[93] The Board of Revenue was not in favour of this settlement. On this occasion the Governor in General had proclaimed his resolutions to remove from office any public servant who would neglect in implementing the settlement. Eventually, report came that Madras government had materials for a permanent settlement in certain parts of the country.[94] Accordingly, special commissioners were appointed to carry out the measures.[95] The Collectors were also directed to state their opinion as to the amount that should be assessed on permanency in each zemindary.[96]

The Collector of Ganjam, Mr. Cherry had proposed a settlement for five or ten years. He preferred these as introductory to the permanent system.[97] This proposal was not accepted by the Board of Revenue. It had already experienced the evils of temporary settlements. The government had conceived that the permanent settlement was the only remedy against the existing evils of the zemindaries.[98] And the Board of Revenue had recommended the introduction of permanent rents, with a view to avoid difficulty in collection and loss in its land revenue.[99] Accordingly, the government had fixed for ever a moderate assessment which amount would not be increased under any circumstances, nor would be decreased. The assessment was fixed taking into consideration all the lands that were liable to pay revenue.[100]

The work of assessment was to be attended with success. The special Commission was entrusted with the task. It was more careful in making the assessment moderate.[101] As a rule government was determined to fix the quantum of

permanent rent at ⅓% or parts of the Committee of Circuits valuation after deducting salt and sayer revenue.[102] The records with which it was guided were viz.[103]

(a) Report and the statement furnished by the Committee of Circuit respecting Ganjam and Vizagapatam in 1783-88.

(b) Report of Mr. Cherry, the Collector of Ganjam.

(c) The statement of the collection from the zemindars since 1768, i.e. for the last thirty four years and

(d) The statement of the sayer collection for sixteen years.

The Special Commission had submitted its report on Ganjam to government on 19th May, 1804.[104] The Committee for Vizagapatam had submitted its report on 22nd October, 1803.[105] The assessment which the Commission had proposed on each zemindary was on compromise with the accounts of the former years. The Committee had exercised its free judgement, where records were inadequate to determine the rent on permanency.[106]

In between the years 1802-1805 permanent settlement was introduced in the district of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Musulipatam and Guntur in the Madras Presidency.[107] The parmanent settlement was introduced in the Madras Presidency in the zemindary tracts which constituted one-fifth of the Presidency.[108] About 53% of the land revenue assessment of British India was from the permanently settled zemindary lands and 47% from the ryotary lands.[109]

The hereditary zemindars had acceded to the terms and conditions of the assessment [Statement B(1) and (2)]. They had also signed the agreement to discharge the permanent revenue, either by themselves personally or by their representatives. The agreement with the zemindars of Vizianagar, Pratapgerry and Borasingi was concluded after some months. The disturbed situation in these zemindaries had refrained the government for some months to conclude

the agreement. The government was conscious whether or not to acknowledge the authority of these Rajas over their respective zemindary.[110]

In the year 1803 the Chicacole Taluk was incorporated with the Ganjam district. The important zemindaries of it were the Parlakhemundi and Tekaly.[111] The zemindaries of Khallikote, Jellentra and Moherry at the time of introduction of the zemindary settlement were under assignment of the company.[112]

As a principle of the permanent settlement, the arrear dues against all the zemindars were written off. The intention of the government was to impress the zemindars that "The permanent settlement in providing for the payment on a moderate assessment frees them for ever from the fear of exaction in future, and that the extent of publlc demand being now immutably fixed on just a principle, all grievances to which may be liable under an important system of government, will finally be rectified, that they will now if their conduct shall be guided with prudence, be enabled to enjoy in peace and comfort the fruits of their industry, and to beaqueth their lands and possession in security to their descendants".[113]

The zemindars possessed their zemindaries as per the terms of the Regulation XXV of 1802. The government had assigned them their zemindary land with a proprietary title perpetually confirmed on them, and the assessment was fixed at two-thirds of the gross produce of the land. It was of little variation to the estimate of the Circuit Committee.[114] Each zemindary, including all the lands both waste and arable, was assessed in perpetuity with a fixed land revenue payable in all seasons. It was on this condition of payment of a defined sum, each zemindar had possessed his own zemindary. It was termed as 'the proprietary right of the soil'. To the zemindars the government had granted a deed of property known as 'Sunnud'. The zemindars in turn had

executed a 'Kabuliat' that contained the conditions of their tenure to hold the zemindary.[115]

The Regulation XXV of 1802 had created a new set of zemindars.[116] Where the law of promigeniture was obtained the zemindar could not encumber or alienate the estate beyond his own life time. The private estates conferred under Regulation XXV of 1802 were mere assignments. These were sub-divided and alienated freely like any other form of real property. Thus there were two separate sets of landholders. Government was more concerned with the ancient ones, under the provisions of the Regulation XXV of 1802. The private estates from their eonstitution were gradually disappeared.[117] The permanent system admitted three interests on land viz, the government, the owners and the tenant cultivators. The rights in land were conferred upon those who were non-cultivators. In such cases the cultivator paid rent to the owner and the landowner paid land revenue to the government.[118]

Failure of the Permanent Settlement

There were many causes responsible for the failure of the zemindary settlement. The settlement was a political measure. The Rajas of the tract were not in good terms with the company. They were unable to reconcile themselves of their loss of police and judicial power under the arrangement of Regulation XXV of 1802. So the failure of the permanent settlement in Ganjam and plains of Vizagapatam was a political failure.[119] Secondly, the Rajas or the zemindars of the tract had an imperfect and insufficient knowledge of the regulation.[120] This was due to the great barrier of language. All the notifications of government till 1860 came in Telugu and English language. As such all the roads of administration could not reach to the population who spoke Oriya. Lack of Oriya type and orders and notifications of the government in the revenue administration was more

responsible to account the failure of the settlement in the South-Orissa.[121]

Thirdly, the permanent settlement lacked uniformity. The lands were not uniformly assessed, and were overassessed. The zemindars were not prepared to accept any measure of the company government that would result a possible encroachment upon their rights. So in the accounts which they gave to the Circuit Committee in 1783-88, they did not represent exact revenue of their zemindary. Basing upon these accounts the Circuit Committee had estimated the gross produce on each zemindary. It was an estimate on assumption. Basing upon this account, and others which were uncertain and incorrect, the conclusion of a fixed rent was another drawback. In the former years the land revenue on the zemindary was collected without any uniformity and every year there was an increase in amount. An average of these collections to determine the standard amount on permanency was not a considerative measure to the successfulness of the settlement.[122]

Fourthly, in Ganjam the permanent zemindary settlement was not concluded on the same principle as in other districts of the presidency. In Masulipatam, Rajmahundry and Vizagapatam the 'Peshkash' of several zemindars was calculated at two-thirds of fixed assets. So it became easy on the part of the government to determine the permanent rent by a reference to the total accounts. In Ganjam there were no fixed assets. No proportion of the valuation of the gross jumma of each estate was adopted. The Board of Revenue had fixed the 'Peshkash' discritionally and it included 'Mukhsas'. These should not have included in the accounts, as these had represented the average receipts of the government from the zemindars for a series of years prior to the permanent settlement. There were many 'Mukhasas' and 'Agraharams' held land free and these paid no 'Kettubudi'. These were included and the permanent

jumma was determined. As a result of this, the Peshkash so fixed as permanency, though was less than two-thirds of the valuation of the Circuit Committee, became more than two-thirds of the zemindars assets.[123] The assessment became heavy and it was imposed upon them.[124]

Fifthly, the failure of the permanent settlement in the tract was due to the erroneous practice of the principles.[125] Moturpha, a personal and professional tax was included in the assets of some zemindars, especially, Moherry. This had resulted an increase in the amount of the rent on permanency.[126]

Sixthly, no remission was granted for loss of crops or other reasons.[127] There was no special yearly investigations and settlement as in the case of ryotwari holdings. Usually 15% remission was granted upon the government assessment for purpose of enabling the zemindars to defray the expenses incurred on collection of rents from the ryots.[128] As such, under the principles of the permanent settlement the zemindars were required to pay the settled amount in all seasons and under all circumstances. This had an adverse effects on their holdings.[129]

Effects of the Permanent Settlement

Due to over assessment the demand of 'Peshkash' on permanently settled zemindaries was not collected fully. The gross produce of these zemindaries or estates, after deduction of the royts share was not sufficient to meet the government demand.[130] As a result dues remained unpaid. These arrear revenue were collected in the next fusli year together with interest before sale.[131] The Rajas paid 12% interest on the amount that became due.[132] The revenue amount that remained due against the zemindars in different years were as follows :[133]

in fusli 1214 or 1804 A.D. July	Rs. 13,993-15-5	Starpagodas-Fr.C.
by November 1804 A.D.	Rs. 4,391-38-30	-do-
In year 1805 A.D. or Fusli 1215	Rs. 53,339-13-35	-do-
On 14th February, 1806 balance on account of 1805 Jumma	Rs. 12,558 -6-40	-do-

The estates which fell in arrear were put to sale by government for the realisation of that amount of revenue. A portion of the estate proportionate to the arrear amount led to division of an estate.[134]

Under the Collectorship of Mr. Spottiswood, the portions of ancient zemindaries sold for arrear of revenue in between the years 1809-1810 were as follows :[135]

1. Ghumsur Zemindary	Paillpada	for Rs. 11,902-1-6		
	Bishnuchakram	Rs. 11,809-12-7		
	Bullapadra	Rs. 9,348-14-6		
2. Chikiti Zemindary	Cootilinga	for Rs. 7,409-4-10	having 20 villages	
	Pamaghaun	Rs. 11,422-2-3	20 villages	
3. Badagada Zemindary	Koradakona mutha	for Rs. 1,750-0-0	having 15 villages	

All these muthas were sold on 9th October, 1809.

In fusli 1218 or 1808 A.D. the Ranee of Moherry fell in arrear of revenue to the Company to an amount of Rs. 21,953-4-0.[136] However, she discharged that due amount on loan from sowcars. In fusli 1219 or 1809, she repaid the loan from the revenue of that year and as such could not pay to the company. At the end of that fusli she was in arrear to government to Rs. 30,726-0-0. So, on 29th

September, 1810 the zemindary was sold. It was purchased jointly by Bhagaban Mohanty and Goodesah Chalum for Rs. 58,954-0-0.[137] Latter it was restored to the family and was put to auction in 1850 for recovery of Rs. 1,64,280-1-0. This time government bought it for Rs. 100/.[138]

In latter years the mutha of Badagada was restored to the zemindar on the suggestion of William Thackery, who had visited Ganjam in 1819-20 and a sum was given to the Raja as loan for the improvement of his zemindary.[139] In 1841 the zemindary of Athagada was sold by public auction on account of arrear for Rs. 40,097-8-0. It was bought on government amount for Rs. 61,000/-. The sale of the zemindary was not confirmed by the government, and the zemindary was restored to the Raja. But in 1851 again it was sold for Rs. 1,00,200/- and was bought by the Collector. As a favour government restored the zemindary to the Raja. But finally the zemindary in 1854 was sold on auction and the Raja of Khallikote bought that zemindary.[140]

Strict enforcement of the regulations was urged by the Board of Revenue as the only means to realise the arrear revenue. The Board of Revenue had expressed its opinion in 1808 A.D. that "in the interest of the government and general prosperity of the country, would be best provided by as strict and regular adherence to the regulations as circumstances might render possible". Promulgation of this resolution of the government among the zemindars led most of them to pay up their arrear with interest except the Ranee of Moherry.[141]

The government was determined to enforce its regulations. A change in the system of land revenue administration and policy of the government brought a considerable inconvenience to it. The zemindars were expecting a further change in the system of the government so deliberately established. This belief of the zemindars had operated as an encouragement to withheld their stipulated payments.

This situation brought the government to enforce its regulations strictly.[142]

Rigidity was the general feature of enforcement of those regulations. So was the case with Orissa.[143] The Revenue officers of the 19th century Orissa under Bengal and the Revenue Officers of the same period in Southern Orissa under Madras were no different. Both of them had evinced a sense of rigidity in the enforcement of the regulations in the collection of arrear revenue. The Madras Permanent regulations though more clear were as harmful to Southern Orissa as the Bengal regulations, which were more complex, to Northern Orissa.[144] In both of these the introduction and enforcement of the revenue sale laws were the most unfortunate features of early British rule.[145] This rigidity in the enforcement of sale laws became a cause of rebellion which broke in different times in Southern Orissa.[146]

The permanent settlement, it was argued that, "if it did more, would do much, by rendering the land, in process of time, a valuable property, and a security for the realization of the revenue". The effects of this in Bengal, Behar and Beneras were admitted. It was also equally true that the sales of land for arrears of revenue had occasioned a vast permutation in those provinces. Many of the ancient and opulent families had been reduced to a state of depression and indigence.[147] Cumulative progress of old balances became a matter of burden to most of the zemindars. They had little hope to clear off the due amount that remained as old balances against them for several years, apart from their usual payment of annual land revenue, due to heavy assessment. Very few zemindars paid their revenue in full. As a result zemindars of Vizianagar and Dharakote had given the management of their estates to government.[148] In fact, in fusli 1245 or 1835 A.D. in the period of Ghumsur war, the government got a sum of Rs. 4,08,588-9-11 from the Ganjam zemindars as land

revenue for that year. Out of Rs. 5,17,876-7-3 paise. Thus a sum of Rs. 1,09,287-13-4 remained uncollected and this amount became due upon them for the next fusli year.[149]

In a period of disturbances many factors had affected the sources of revenue of several zemindars. As such in latter years their non-payment of revenue in full could not be ascribed to motivation. On 1st September, 1848 an amount of Rs. 22,011-8-8 towards land revenue for that year remained uncollected from the Ganjam zemindars. In the following year on the same period i.e. 1st September, 1849, Rs. 15,676-1-5 became due against the zemindars on account of permanent revenue of that year. On cumulative process it amounted to Rs. 1,61,331-15-9 paise together with old balances of the past years. The zemindars who fell into arrears in different years were as follows :[150]

Moherry	Fusli	1252	Rs. 26,575-10-10	
		1253	Rs. 60,000- 0- 0	
		1254	Rs. 2,140-11-10	
		1255	Rs. 4,571- 5- 6	Rs. 93,287-18- 2
Chikiti	Fusli	1252	Rs. 21,845-11-10	
		1257	Rs. 10,902- 2- 1	Rs. 32,747-13-11
Dharakote	Fusli	1252	Rs. 6,842-12- 0	
		1253	Rs. 14,000 -0- 0	Rs. 20,842-12- 0
Sergur	Fusli	1257	Rs. 2,504- 0- 0	Rs. 2,504- 0- 0
				Rs. 1,61,331-15-9

It was a clear failure of the object of the permanent settlement, which was 'calculated to give an encouragement to the agricultural industry and there by to promote the general prosperity of the country'.[151]

The estates which were attached for arrears of revenue could not be sold immediately. There was a want in purchasers. The government in order to avoid delay in sale, divided such attachments into numerous divisions to cause

sale among several individuals. This practice of government, consequently, brought into picture the system and introduction of village rent settlement and then to ryotwary settlemeni.[152] The village rent system was in practice and not new.[153] The roytwar system was introduced as a political remedy against the political failure of the permanent settlement. The intention of the Company Government was to deal with the people directly and to unite them to stand with the Company's interest to that against the zemindars. Accordingly, in latter years the government had ordered to introduce the ryotwar system in the villages reverted to government under the zemindary system.[154]

Progress of Ryotwar Settlement

Many of the estates reverted back to government and were kept under the management of the collector. The Board of Revenue expressed its desire to introduce the Ryotwar system in these estates and villages. The Court of Directors were not prepared to accept the measure. Introduction of the system was delayed for some years on the ground that 'Teerwas' was not fixed over these villages and there was no survey.[155] But this decision of the govenment was momentum. In latter years the government had directed the local authorities to introduce the ryotwar system in the reverted villages and estates in the same principle under which the Amanue or government land were administered.[156] In 1814, the Collectors were ordered to fix the 'Teerwas'.[157] In 1815 an attempt to introduce the ryotwar system in Ghumsur was not successful.[158]

It was believed that the introduction of Ryotwar system in the settled zemindary tract would disturb the system i.e. permanent system, as long as the zemindars claimed permanency on their estates. Hence Ryotwar system in these could not be conceived of by the government for some time.

But enforcement of that system became a necessity.[159] It was gradual in the zemindary tracts. The villages in the South Orissa region, brought under the ryotwar system in different years were as follows :[160]

Fusli or Year	*Villages*
1230 or 1820	217 villages
1231 or 1821	211 villages
1246 or 1836	49 villages
1257 or 1847	304 villages
1258 or 1848	318 villages
1277 or 1867	878 villages
1278 or 1868	888 villages

In the Ghumsur zemindary the ryotwar system was introduced first. After the Ghumsur rebellion, the Chokapad area of Balliguda sub-division, which then was a part of the zemindary, was surveyed and settled on ryotwari principle.[161] But in respect of all the tracts on this part of South Orissa, the ryotwari system was not in a uniform footing. It's success was also of different degrees. The success of the system depended upon the enthusiastic patron of some zemindars. They initiated survey operations from time to time in their respective areas.[162]

In the year 1868, under the ryotwar settlement 33,015 pattas were issued to the individual cultivators of the South Orissa region. Of these 1,612 pattas were altered in consequence of their change in holdings. Apart from these 629 fresh pattas were granted for holdings newly brought under the ryotwari system.[163] The villages brought the ryotwar system were in the taluks of Berhampur, Ghumsur and Chicacole.[164]

The settlement of land under ryotwari principles was undertaken in the year 1877. Land was classified on the basis of irrigation as wet and dry. The rates adopted per

acre were based on the texture of the soil as well on the facility of irrigation. The rates were as follows.[165]

Soil	*Dry land* Maximum	*Dry land* Minimum	*Wet land* Maximum	*Wet land* Minimum
Permanently improved	Rs. 4-0-0	Rs. 2-0-0	—	—
Black Clay	Rs. 2-8-0	Rs. 0-12-0	Rs. 5-8-0	Rs. 1-4-0
Black Loam	Rs. 2-0-0	Rs. 0-12-0	Rs. 5-8-0	Rs. 0-8-0
Black Sand	Rs. 1-4-0	Rs. 1-4-0	Rs. 4-8-0	Rs. 1-4-0
Red Loam	Rs. 1-8-0	Rs. 0-12-0	Rs. 4-8-0	
Red Sand	Rs. 1-4-0	Rs. 0-4-0	Rs. 3-8-0	
Arenacious Loam	Rs. 1-8-0	Rs. 0-8-0	Rs. 4-8-0	
Arenacious Sand	Rs. 1-4-0	Rs. 0-4-0	Rs. 4-8-0	
Heavy Sand	Rs. 0-12-0	Rs. 0-4-0	Rs. 2-8-0	

At the same time the collection of the revenue from the ryots was determined. It was collected in four kists or instalments in equal proportion payable by the 15th of December, January, February and March.[166] As a rule all the lands were classed under the general heads wet and dry. The intermediate land between the dry and wet were assessed at special rate.[167] Enforcement of the new rates did not commence until 1877-78, but was introduced in 1878-79 in general and in 1883 in Ghumsur.[168]

In the years 1877 and 1878 the revenue collected from the ryotwari lands from Ganjam was Rs. 6,37,377/- and Rs. 5,88,576/- respectively. The land revenue of the zemindary settled areas was Rs. 4,12,768/- and Rs. 4,28,314/- respectively for 1877 and 1878 A.D.[169] In 1881-82 the land revenue from ryotwari and the permanent settled areas amounted to Rs. 8,40,881/- and Rs. 4,38,613/- respectively.[170] Enforcement of these new rates resulted an increase in the assessment amount of land revenue.[171]

The long delay of the introduction of the ryotwar system in the Southern Orissa was due to the debate of the authority on the point of assessment.[172] During all these years it remained as mere intention of the government. In the presidency the system was in a state of flux till 1885.[173] The ryots retained land as long as they paid the rent.[174]

Till a decision was reached in this regard, the government had managed the situation by letting the villages to the inhabitants jointly. In South Orissa, the village settlement was gradually contemplated to sub-division and distribution of the entire land ,to each ryot. Consequently the practice led to individual settlement. Gradual conversion of the collective responsibility into an individual one, otherwise of the communal interest, was one of the advantages of the ryotwar system. The ryotwar system was engrafted on the village settlement.[175]

Revenue Administration of the tract

For purposes of revenue administration, the south tract of Orissa was divided into two revenue districts, which were again subdivided into divisions and taluks. The taluks were further divided into Firkas, and each Firka was again divided into groups, comprising of one or more revenue villages. For each revenue group there was a village establishment consisting of the following :

1. The village head, otherwise known as 'Karji'.
2. The village accountant, otherwise known as the 'Karanam'.
3. The village police, known as the 'Tayalari, Talyari'.
4. And the village peon, known as the 'Vetti'.

The collector was the agent to the governor and his division officers were assistant and the special assistant agents.[176] The Collector was the chief executive and revenue officers of the district. He was aided by assistants, a judge, a

superintendent, and a staff of subordinate English and native officials.[177] In Ganjam and Vizagapatam district the sub-collector and the head assistants were called the principal assistant and the Senior assistant respectively. In these district Senior Assistant had more work than of a Sub-Collector.[178]

For general administrative purposes the district was distributed between the following revenue and Magisterial officials.[179]

Officials	*Headquarters and under charge of the zemindary or division/taluk*
Collector	Chatrapur (Headquarters).
Principal Asst.	Chicacole (Headquarter), Parlakhemundi, Tekkaly.
Collector	Tarla and the Parlakhemundi maliahs.
Senior Asst.	Berhampur (Headquarters), Berhampur Taluk.
Collector	Mandasa, Chikity, Peddakimedy, Surangy, Jalantara, Budrasingy, Jarada and a portion of Athagada zemindary, and the maliahs of the Peddakimedy zemindary, Surangi, Jalantra, Budrasingy, Jarada and Mandasa.
General Deputy Collector	Russelkonda (Headquarters), Ghumsur taluk a portion of Athagada, Dharakote, Seragada, Chinnakemedy, Aska, Debebhumy, Korada and Badagada zemindaries.
Special Assistant Agent	Russelkonda (Headquarter) in the low country and the Balliguda maliahs, incharge of maliahs of Ghumsur, Chinakimedy, Badagada, Cuttingia, Chokapad muthas in the Ghumsur taluk.

The Tahasildars and the Deputy Tahasildars assisted these officials in the administration.[180]

All the matters relating to the land revenue were controlled by the Board of Revenue. The function of the Board of the revenue was defined in the Regulation I of 1803. All the revenue servants of the government were placed under their control.[181]

For administrative purposes the Jajpur zemindary was divided into two parts, the upper and the lower within the jurisdiction of Special Assistant Agent and Senior Assistant Agent respectively at Koraput and Parvatipuram, the latter now in Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh.[182] Till 1883 Koraput division had four taluks. They were Koraput, Nawarangpur, Kotpad and Malkangiri. So also the Parvatipuram division had two taluks. They were Rayagada and Gunupur.[183] These taluks were under the charge of Deputy Tahasildars. In latter years some new taluks were created and personnels in the revenue establishment were increased.[184]

Table B(1)

The rate of Permanent assessment in the zemindars and estates in the Ganjam district was as follows.

Sl. no.	*Name of the Zemindary*	*Name of the Zemindar*	*Date on which permanent settlement term accepted*
1.	Athagad or Hatghar	Hurry Chunder	27. 9.1804
2.	Badagad or Burgur	Raghunath Singh	11.10.1804
3.	Buredi	Mahusta	21. 8.1804
4.	Budarsing	Nishink	—
5.	Chikiti	Rajendra Deo	31. 8.1804
6.	Dharakote	Jaganath Singh	21. 8.1804
7.	Ghumsur	Dhanurjaya Bhunge	15. 8.1804
8.	Huma	Kistna Chandra Santraw	28. 8.1804
9.	Jerada	Santa Row	2 10.1804
10.	Jellentra*	Assigned	9. 8.1804
11.	Jeypore[2]	Ramachandra Deo II	—
12.	Khallikote*	Assigned	12. 8.1804
13.	Mohury*	Krishnapriya Maha-devi Assigned	15. 8.1804
14.	Mundasa	Rajmane Deo	22.10 1804
15.	Pratapgerry	Chandramanu Deo	15.11.1804
16.	Palur	Gazender	12. 8.1804
17.	Parlakhemundi	Purushottam Gajapaty Deo	—
18.	Seragad	Syam Sunder Singh	12. 9 1804
19.	Surada	Coonjahara Sing	21.10.1804
20.	Suringy	Hurry Chunder	2.11.1804
21.	Turla	Narain Soor	26. 9.1804
22.	Vizianagar	Balabhadra Deo	15.11.1804

* Under assignment—The zemindary of Khallikote was assigned to the Government. It remained for 29 years under Government so also Jellentra for 12 years for the liquidation of old balances. These zemindars were allowed small Jaghire for the subsistence free of assessment. The Sanad which was granted to Ramachandra Deo of Jeypore in 1803 did not include the Paragunah of Kotapad.[3]

1. Report from the Special Committee on Ganjam dated 23rd June, 1804, p. 49-50 (Vol.821/19175 TNAM).
3. Selections from the Records of the Board of Revenue Correspondence relating to the Permanent settlements of the zemindaries in the late 2nd division of Vizagapatam, pp. 20-31. Letter from Robert Alexander, Dated 20th April, 1803 to the President and Members of Special Commission for the settlement of permanent and land revenue.
   (a) Letter from the Special Commission to the Right Hon. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor in Council, Fort St. George, dated 22nd September, 1803, pp. 26-34. (A.S.O.D., 373-TNA).
3. Orissa District Gazetteer (Korapur) by N. K. Sahu and N. Senapati, p. 32.
   (3) Nandapur, a forsaken kingdom, p. 102, Part I, by Kumar B. S. Deo (1939, Cuttack).

Table B(2)

Sl. no.	*Name of the Zemindary*	*Circuit Committee Estimates in rupees*	*Amount of sum deducted on account of salt and sayer in rupees*	*Permanent Juma fixed in rupees*
1.	Athagad or Hutghar	1,50,000	96,939	55,000
2.	Badgad or Burgur	27,738	17,583	4,000
3.	Buredi	11,886	7,402	4,500
4.	Budarsing	2,500	1,667	500
5.	Chikiti	69,285	45,797	34,000
6.	Dharakote	59,413	36,504	25,000
7.	Ghumsur	1,66,140	1,07,706	70,000
8.	Huma	5,171	—	1,200
9.	Jerada	8,393	5,559	2,000
10.	Jellentra	16,232	10,821	7,000
11.	Jeypore	75,888	29,298	16,000
12.	Khallikote	59,320	38,349	19,000
13.	Mohuri	1,10,802	73,868	60,000
14.	Mundasa	35,666	23,081	14,000
15.	Pratapgerry	70,881	46,093	20,000
16.	Palur	5,363	—	1,200
17.	Parlakhe-mundi	1,87,051	70,494	80,000
18.	Seragad	17,955	6,295	5,500
19.	Surada	19,055	11,801	2,500
20.	Suringy	19,709	12,231	3,500
21.	Turla	15,347	9,895	4,000
22.	Vizianagar	1,35,000	90,000	23,000

Statement showing the figures upon which the Permanent Peshkash of the several zemindars was fixed.

Sl. no.	Name of the Zemindary	Total of each zemindar as per account given by the zemindars to Mr. Brown	Average of 17 years collected in the Govt. treasury	Jnmma recommended by the Collector	Deduction on account of sayer salt etc.	Permanent peskash
1.	Athagada or Hutghar	68,899	43,588	58,000	3,000	55,000
2.	Burgur or Badagada	10,402	4,559	4,000	900	4,000
3.	Buredi	6,459	4,916	5,300	522	4,500
4.	Budarsingi	343	385	700	—	500
5.	Chikiti	39,404	33,603	35,000	1,000	34,000
6.	Dharakote	29,814	25,704	28,000	3,094	25,000
7.	Ghumsur	—	—	—	—	—
8.	Huma	4,224	2,335	2,000	800	1,200
9.	Jerada	4,323	2,726	2,000	400	2,000
10.	Jellentra & assigned villages	9,727	7,639	7,500	500	7,000
11.	Jeypore[2]	—	58,397	25,000	12,754	16,000
12.	Khallikote & assigned villages	28,728	33,609	30,000	—	19,000
13.	Mohury	—	—	—	—	—
14.	Mundasa	20,527	12,761	15,000	1,000	14,000
15.	Pratapgerry	25,401	17,987	22,000	2,000	20,000
16.	Palur	5,838	2,390	2,000	800	1,200
17.	Parlakhemundi	—	—	80,000	17,930	80,000
18.	Sergur	11,280	6,295	6,000	500	5,500
19.	Surada	6,112	3,573	3,000	900	2,500
20.	Suringy	5,516	5,932	4,000	500	3,500
21.	Turla	7,370	5,219	4,000	400	4,000
22.	Vizianagar	28,178	22,375	25,000	2,000	23,000

For Parlakhemundi report of Special Committee, 6th May, 1803, E.I.A.C., App.XVI-15, p. 341.
R. C. S. Bell : Orissa District Gazetteer, Koraput, p, 32 and N. K. Sahu and N. Senapati, p. 379.
Note : (a) Average of 3 years calculation i.e. 1297, 1298 and 1299 or 1797, 1798 and 1799.
(b) Deduction on the non-payment of Bissum Cuttack and Gunupuram.

1. Selections from the records of Madras Government (New Rev Series No. 1) letter from G.N. Tayler, Esq. Inam Commissioner, to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Chatrapur dated 11th February, 1862, p. 144 (APSA, Hyderabad).
2. Selections from the Records of the Board of Revenue (Land Revenue) correspondence to relation to P. S. of zemindaries in the late 2nd division of Vizagapatam, pp. 20-21. 'Letters from Robert Alexander to the President and Member of the Special Commission for the P.S. Land Revenue' (A.S.O.D. 373-T.N.A.).

REFERENCES

1. The Manual of standing information for the Madras Presidency, p. 52 (1893, Madras).
2. Report of the Circuit Committee on the Revenue and Resources of Ganjam, Dated 24.4.1788, to the Hon. Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B., President and Member of the Board of Revenue, p. 2 (Vol. 17-A, T N.A M).
3. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Ch. II, pp. 103-115.
4. Report of the Circuit Committee on the Revenue and Resources of Ganjam, Dated 24.4.1788, to the Hon. Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B., President and Member of the Board of Revenue, p. 2 (Vol. 17-A, T.N.A.M).

5. Report of the Circuit Committee, dated 24.4.1788, p. 15.
   (a) Report on land Tenures and Revenue system of Orissa and Chattishgarah States, General Report, Vol. I, p. 10 by R. K. Ramadhyami.
6. Revenue letter dated 24th October, 1808, Fort St. George, p. 484 (Madras Revenue selections).
7. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, No. 7743 dated 2nd December, 1864 (E.L.A.C., Appendix XIII), pp. 165-166.
   (a) Indian Land system by R. K. Mukherjee, p. 41
   (b) Standing information of the Madras Presidency, Section II, p. 86 by C. D. Maclean, 1879 (M. G. III, T. N. A).
8. Report of the Circuit Committee of 24.4.1788, p. 15.
9. Indian Land system, pp. 42-43, by R. K. Mukherjee.
10. The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency.
   (a) The Manual of standing information for the Madras Prestdency, Ch. IV, p. 55 (Madras, 1893).
   (b) The Aristrocracy of Southern India, pp. 65-66 by A. Vadivelu.
11. Minute of the Board of Revenue, Dated 5.1.1818, p. 911 (Madras Revenue Selection).
12. Report of the Committee of Circuit on the zemindaries and Havelly lands dependent on Ganjam, Dt. 25.4.1788 (Vol. 17-A, T.N.M), pp. 4-5.
   (a) -do- on Vizagapatam (17-B-1, Sl. No. 17/17853, TNAM), p. 180.
   (b) -do- 1783-84 (Vol. 18-B, T.N.A.M), W. Oram's report on Nandapur (Jeypore), p. 188.
13. Fifth Report, p. 114.
14. Ganjam Manual, p. 92 by T. J. Maltby.
   (a) Letter from Edward Cotsford to the President and Governor in Council, Fort St. George, Dated 1.3.1769, p. 2 (A.S.O.D., 146/89, T.N.A.).

15. Report of Edward Cotsford on the Purganas and the Zamindars in the Itchapur district, 1769, p. 2 (A.S.O. D-90/148 T.N.A).
16. Report on the rent of Havelly, Sea and River customs in the Dist. Ganjam in the year 1771. Letter from Edward Cotsford to the President and Governor in Council, Fort St. George, Dated 1st April, 1771, p. 1 (A.S.O., D-488/138 T.N.A).
17. Ganjam Consultations, Dated Thursday 10th March, 1774, pp. 4-5 (Vol. 724/19098, Ganjam Factory Records, T.N.A.M.).
18. Letter from Hon. Alexandar Wynch, to Charles Smith, Chief and Council at Ganjam, Dated 26th March, 1774, p. 17 (Vol. 724, T.N.A.M.).
19. Letter from the Chief and Council, Ganjam, to the Right Hon. George Lord Macartney, President and Governor in Council, Fort St. George, Dated 4.9.1782, pp. 64-65 (Vol. 732, Ganjam District Record, T.N.A.M.).
20. Ganjam Consultations, dated Monday 30th December, 1782, pp. 117-118.
    (a) Fifth Report, p. 114.
    (b) Ganjam Consultations dated 4th September, 1782, pp. 63-64.
    (c) Letter to the Right Hon. George Lord Macartney, President and Council Fort St. George, dated 4. 9. 1782 from the Chief and Council at Ganjam, pp. 64-65 (Vol. 732, T.N.A.M).
    (d) Ganjam Consultations dated Wednesday, 2. 10. 1782, pp. 69-74 (Vol. 732, T.N.A.M).
21. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 31.12.1790.
22. General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 10th January, 1796, pp. 93-94.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 30th March, 1789, p. 64.

23. From the Secretary, Thomas Snodgrass, to the President and Governor in Council, Hon. William Medows, Dated 13th March, 1790, p. 96 (Vol. 700/19074, Ganjam District Record, T.N.A.M.).
24. Report from the Chief and Council at Ganjam to the Hon. John Holland, Esq., Governor and President in Council, Fort St. George, Dated 31st December, 1788, pp. 78-79 (Vol. 698/19072, Gm. Dist. Record, Proceeding of the Chief and Cons. Gm. in Civil Department).
25. Administration of the East India Company, by J. W. Kaye, p. 203.
26. General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 7th September, 1791, p 118.
27. General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 7th September, 1791, p 117
28. General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 28th January, 1793, p. 36.
    (a) Genaral Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 21st April. 1791, p. 108.
    (b) General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 7th September, 1791, p 117.
29. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 20th September 1793, pp. 60-61.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 29th April, 1793, p. 47.
30. Ibid.
31. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 20th September, 1793, Ganjam, p. 63.
32. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 1st October, 1797, p. 10.
33. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 1st October, 1798, pp. 69-71.
34. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 10th January, 1796, Ganjam, p. 91.

35. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 30th June, 1796, Ganjam, p. 122.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 28th February, 1797, Ganjam, p. 162.
36. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 25th January, 1798, Ganjam, p. 36.
37. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 9th October, 1802, p. 23.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 20th June, 1799, Ganjam, p. 131.
38. Report of the Board of Revenue dated 9th October, 1802, p. 23.
39. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 115.
    (a) Minute of the Board of Revenue dated 5. 1. 1818 (Mad. Rev. Selection), p. 913.
    (b) Economic History of India (Early British rule), by R. Dutta, pp. 121-22.
    (c) Final Report on the Major settlement operation in Ganjam Ex-State areas, p. 6 (1938, Board of Revenue, Orissa).
40. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 9. 10. 1802, p. 23.
41. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 1st October, 1797, p. 10.
42. Prosperous British India, by William Digby, Chapter I, p. 24, (1901).
43. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Ch. II, p. 115.
    (a) Fifth report of the Select Committee on the East India Affairs, Vol. I, p. 149.
    (b) Economic History of India (Early British Rule), by R. Dutta, p. 121.
    (c) The Land Revenue administration of Orissa during the 19th Century, by Dr. K. C. Jena.

44. Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the East India affairs, p. 149, Vol. I, (1813).
45. Report of Mr. Edward Cotsford, Resident, Ganjam, to the President and Council, Madras, dated 26th December, 1769.
    (a) Ganjam Manual by J. Maltby, p. 93.
    (b) General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 30th March, 1789, p. 63.
46. From Edward Cotsford to the President and Governor in Council, Fort St. George, Dated 1st March, 1769, settlement made with certain zemindars, pp. 3-5 (A.S.CD., 146/89, T.N.A.).
47. Report of Edward Cotsford on the purganas and the zemindars in the Itchapur district, 1769, p. 2 (A.S.O.D., 90/148 T.N.A).
48. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, pp. 110-111.
49. Letter from Moragam Williams, Chief and Council at Ganjam, to John White Hill, Esq., Governor and President in Council, Fort St. George, pp. 27-28 (Vol. 728, Ganjam Factory Records Correspondence, 1778, T.N.A.M).
    (a) Translate of the Petition of Padmanabh Aunang Bhima Deo presented to John Maxwell Stone, Esq., Ganjam, p. 110 (Vol. 689, Select Committee Record, T.N.A.M).
50. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 98.
51. Ganjam Consultations dated 13th June, 1774, by Charles Smith and J. Holland and
    (a) Letter to Hon. President and Council, A. Wynch, dated 28th June, 1774, p. 46 (Vol. 424, Ganjam Dist. Record, T.N.A.M).
52. Petition of Balkistna, renter to Itchapur or Ganjam district, to the Right Hon. George Macartney, President and Governor in Council, Fort St. George, pp. 10-15.
    (a) Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 110 (Vol. 732, GDR-TNAM).

(b) Letter from the Right Hon. the President and Council to John Maxwell Stone, Esq, Chief and Council at Ganjam, Dated 11-5-1782, p. 4 (Vol. 732, Proceeding of the Chief Council at Ganjam in their Civil Dept. including Revenue & Commercial affairs, commentary for 19-5-1782, T.N.A.M).

53. Proposal of Balraw to John Maxwell Stone (ibid), pp. 113-114.

54. Ganjam Factory Record (Vol. 727, T.N.A.M), p. 242.

55. Ganjam Consultations, Dated 24th August, 1782, Letter from the Chief and Council, to the Hon. Lord Macartney, President and Council, Fort St. George, pp. 50-59 (Vol. 732, T.N.A.M).

56. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 7th September, 1791, pp. 117-118.

(a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 30th March, 1789, pp. 63-64.

57. Proposal of Pudmanabh Aunanga Bheema Deo of Vizianagar to John Maxwell Stone, pp. 109-110, Vol. 732, GDR-TNAM.

58. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 31st December, 1790. p. 84.

59. Letter to John Maxwell Stone, Esq., Chief and Council at Ganjam from Right Hon. Macartney, dated 21st June, 1782, p. 39 (Vol. 732-GDR-TNAM).

60. Ganjam Consultations Dated 31st May, 1782, pp. 14-18, (Vol. 732).

(a) Letter from the Right Hon. The President and Council, to John Maxwell Stone, Esq., Chief and Council, at Ganjam dated 11th May, 1782. p. 4 (Vol. 732-TNAM).

61. Letter from the Secretary to the Chief and Council at Ganjam, to the Hon'ble William Medows, Esq., Governor in Council, dated 13th March, 1790, p. 80 (Vol. 700/19074).

62. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 30th March, 1789, p. 64.
63. Ganjam Consultations, Chief's minute dated 2nd July, 1790, On the settlement of the fusli 1199 (Vol. 701, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.), pp. 78-96.
    (a) Minute of Moragam Williams dated 31st January, 1790, p. 97 (Vol. 701).
    (b) Report from the Chief and Council at Ganjam, to Hon. John Holland, Esq., President and Governor in Council, Fort St. George dated 31st December, 1788, pp. 75-76. (Vol. 698/19072, Proceeding of the Chief and Council at Ganjam in Civil Dept.).
64. Minute of the Chief at Ganjam, May, 1790, pp. 155-157 (Vol. 701).
65. Letter from Harrington, Secretary, Fort St. George, to Mr. Thomas Snodgrass, Secretary at Ganjam, dated 29th October, 1790, p. 422 (Vol. 701).
66. Ganjam Consultations dated 7th July, 1787, Chief's minute, pp. 108-109 (Vol. 694/19068-G.D.R.T N.A.M).
67. Letter from the Board of Revenue to Moragam Williams, Esq., Chief and Council at Ganjam, dated 8th September, 1788, pp. 57-59 (Vol. 736-G.D.R.T.N.A.M).
68. Ganjam Consultations, dated 4th July, 1790, pp. 78-97.
69. Ganjam consultations dated 22nd June, 1790, pp. 264-265 (Vol. 701, Ganjam Factory Record, T.N.A.M).
70. General report of the Board of Revenue dated 12th January, 1792, Ganjam, p. 133.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 15th April, 1792, Ganjam, p. 150.
    (b) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 23rd July, 1792, Ganjam, p. 9.
71. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 7th September, 1791, Ganjam, p. 117.
72. Ibid.

73. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 12th January, 1792, Ganjam, pp. 134-135.
74. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 23rd July, 1792, Ganjam, p. 11.
75. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 21st April, 1791, p. 100.
76. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 31st December, 1790, Ganjam, p. 84.
77. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 12th January, 1792, Ganjam, pp. 134-135.
78. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 20th September, 1793, Ganjam, p. 61.
79. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 23rd July, 1792, Ganjam, p. 11.
80. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 14th September, 1792, Ganjam, p. 25.
81. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th October, 1794, p. 178.
82. General report of the Board of the Revenue, dated 25th August, 1794, Ganjam, pp. 159-160.
83. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 31st August, 1795, Ganjam, pp. 68-69.
84. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 30th June, 1796, Ganjam, p. 120.
85. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 20th June, 1799, Ganjam, p. 129.
86. Ganjam Consultations, dated 7th July, 1787, Chief's minute, pp. 108-109 (Vol. 694/19068, G.D.R.T.N.AM.).
87. Minute of George Wynch, dated 22nd February, 1787, p. 46 (Vol. 694).
    (a) Petition from Mudgedeo, brother to Narrinder Deo of Moherry, to Moragam Williams, Esq., Chief and Council at Ganjam, pp. 30-38 (Vol. 694/19068).
    (b) Mumra's minute dated lst March, 1787, p. 49 (ibid).

88. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 14th September, 1792, p. 25.

89. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 31st December, 1790, pp. 84-85.

90. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 23rd July, 1792, p. 9.

91. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 21st April, 1791, pp. 100-101.
    (a) General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 12th January, 1792, p. 133-135.
    (b) General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 1:th April, 1792, pp. 150-151.

92. Prosperous British India, Chapter I, p. 24 by William Digby, (1901).
    (a) Economic History of India, Ch. VI, p. 110 by R. Dutta (E. B. R.).
    (b) Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India, by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, (A.P.S.A. Library), pp. 427-428.

93. The Land and Law in India by Raymond West, p. 29.
    (a) Selection from the Records of the South Arcot district No. II, "Memoir on the internal Revenue system of the Madras Presidency" by Bundala Ramaswamy Naidu, 1908, p. 24 (A.H.B.-259-TNA).

94. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Ch. II, pp. 114-115.

95. Report of the Estate Land Act Committee, Appendix XIII, p. 175.

96. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 20th February, 1804, p. 3 (an Collectorate Library).
    (a) Letter to William Peter, Esq., President and Members of Board of Revenue, Dt. 4-9-1799 (Vol. 821/19174, GDRTNAM).

97. Report of the Estate Land Act Committee, Appendix XVII, p. 368.
(a) General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th October, 1804, p. 2.
(b) Special Commissioners Report on Ganjam, dated 20th February, 1804, pp. 912-913.
98. Minute of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th January, 1818 (Madras Revenue Selections).
99. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th October, 1804, p. 2 (Madras Revenue Selections).
(a) Report from the Board of Revenue to the Governor Fort St. George, dated 28th January, 1813 (Madras Revenue Selections), p. 563.
(b) Report of the Land Revenne Commission-Bengal, Vol. I, p. 32 (1940, Bengal Govt.).
100. As in (98), p. 914.
101. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th October, 1804, p. 2.
102 Letter from Board of Revenue, dated 23rd June, 1804 to the Right Hon. W. Cavendish Bentinck, Governor in Council, pp. 9-10 (Vol. 821/19175, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
103. Report of the Estate Land Act Committee, Appendix XVII-21, pp. 368-369.
(a) Report of the Special Commission for Ganjam, dated 17th May, 1804.
(b) Selection from the Record of the Madras Government New Revenue Series, No. 1 (Letter from G. N. Taylor, Esq., Imam Commission, to the Secretary to Govt. Revenue Deptt., Dt. Chatrapur, 11th February, 1862, pp. 138-139 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
104. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, Ch. VII, p. 133.
105. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th October, 1804, p. 2 (Ganjam Collectorate).
106. Ibid.

107. Special Commissioner's Report on Ganjam, dated 23rd May, 1804, and Vizagapatam (Jeypore) dated 22nd October, 1803, (Vol. 821/19175, T.N.A.M), pp. 49-50.
   (a) Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 133.
   (b) Minute of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th January, 1818 (Madras Revenue Selection), p. 912 (Ganjam Collectorate).
   (c) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, p. 410.
   (d) Report of the Estate Land Act Committee, Appendix XVII-19, p. 362.
108. An enquiry into the incidence of taxation in British India by D. Barbour, p. 11.
109. Imperial Gazetteer of India, by W. W. Hunter, Vol. IV, pp. 206-210.
110. Government order on the report of the Special Commission on Ganjam, Dated 22nd June, 1804, to the Board of Revenue. (E.I.A.C., Appendix XVII) p. 383 (Berhampur Bar).
   (a) Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 133.
   (b) Nandapur, a forsaken Kingdom, by Kumar B. S. S. Deo (1939, Cuttack), Part I, p. 102.
   (c) Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput), by R. C. S. Bell, (1945, Govt. of Orissa). p. 32.
   (d) Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput), by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, pp. 278-279.
111. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 134.
112. Report from the Special Committee on Ganjam, dated 23rd June, 1804, pp. 49-50, (Vol. 821/19175, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
   (a) General report of the Board of Revenue dated 5th October, 1804, pp. 3-5.
113. Report of the Estate Land Act Committee, Appendix IV, pp. 36-37.

114. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 115.
(a) Final settlement Report on the Ganjam Ex-estate areas, p. 6 (1938, Board of Revenue, Orissa).
(b) Letter from the Board of Revenue to the Governor in Cons., dated 28th January, 1813, p. 561 (Madras Revenue Selections).
115. Minute of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th January., 1818 (Madras Revenue Selection), pp. 113-114.
(a) Regulation XXV of 1802.
116. Social Background of Indian Nationalism by A. R. Desai, p. 176.
(a) Modern India and the West by I. S. S. O. Malley, pp. 705-706.
117. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 120.
118. Economics of Land Reforms and Farm size in India, by A. M. Khusro, Ch. I, p. 3.
119. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput), by R. C. S. Bell, (1946, Orissa Government , p. 32.
120. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th October, 1806, pp. 2-3.
(a) Fifth report, p. 105
121. Letter from G. S. Forbes, Collector, Ganjam dated 16th May, 1860, No. 117.
(a) Proceeding of the Board of Revenue for the month of 18th May, 1860, Vol. V, p. 427.
122. Letter from Collector, Ganjam, P. R. Cazelet, to the Board of Revenue dated 13th April, 1826. (Selection from the Records of Madras Government No. XI), pp. 26-27, (A. P. S. A. Hyderabad).
123. Letter from G. N. Taylor, Esq., Inam Commission, to the Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, dated Chatrapur, 11th February, 1862. (G. O. No.

647, Rev. Dt. 24th March, 1862, Selection from the Records of Madras Govt., New Series No. 1), pp. 138-142 (A. P. S. A. Hyderabad).

(a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 1st January, 1814, Ganjam, p. 4.

124. Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrot. (A. P. S. A. Library), pp. 426-427.

125. Minute of the Board of Revenue, dated 5. 1. 1818 (Madras Revenue Selection), p. 914.

126. Letter from G. M. Oglive to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, dated 14th August, 1832, p. 151 (Vol. 3916, G. D. R. Correspondence, T.N.A.M.).

(a) Proceeding of the Commissioner, Northern Circars, dated 2nd July, 1855, No. 455, p. 4.

(b) General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 4th January, 1821, p. 14.

127. Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 130.

128. Revenue letter dated 12. 4. 1815 (Mad. Rev. Section), p. 644.

129. Report of the Land Revenue Commission-Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 32-33 (1940, Bengal Government).

(a) General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 3rd January, 1820, p. 4.

130. Letter from the Collector, P. R. Cazelet, Ganjam, to the Board of Revenue, dated 13th April, 1826, p. 26 (Selection from the Records of Madras Govt., No. XI).

(a) Minute of the Board of Revenue dated 5th Jan. 1818, pp. 914-915 (Madras Revenue Selection).

131. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 3rd January, 1820, pp. 4-5.

132. Letter from G. M. Ogilive, Collector, Ganjam dated 8th May, 1832 to President and Member of Board of Revenue, pp. 86-87 (Vol. 3916, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).

133. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated. 1. 8. 1805, p. 41.

(a) General report of the Board of Revenue, Dt. 31. 1. 1806, p. 113.

(b) General report of the Board of Revenue, Dt. 5. 10. 1806, p. 2.

(c) General report of the Board of Revenue, Dt. 25. 2. 1807, p. 128.

134. Letter from the Board of Revenue, to Government Fort St. George, Dated 12. 4. 1815 (Madras Revenue Selection), p. 639.

135. Letter from the Collector, Ganjam, P. R. Cazelet, to the Board of Revenue, Dated 13th April, 1826, No. 666. (Selection from the Records of Madras Govt. New Revenue Series No. XI), pp. 26-28 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

136. General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 3rd January, 1820, Ganjam, p. 4.

137. Letter from P. R. Cazall, Collector, Ganjam, to the President and Members of Board of Revenue, Dated 13th April, 1826, No. 266 (Selection from the records of Madras Govt. New Series No. XI), p. 28.

(a) William Thackery's Report on Moherry dated 8th February, 1819 (Madras Rev. Selection), p. 976.

(b) Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby (1918, Madras), p. 136.

138. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 155.

139. General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 3rd January, 1820, pp. 4-5.

140. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 156 (1918, Madras).

141. General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 3rd January, 1820, pp. 4-5.
142. Ibid.
143. The Land Revenue Administration in Orissa during the nineteenth century by Dr. K. C. Jena, p. 63.
    (a) Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, pp. 427-428.
144. Revenue letter dated 1. 2. 1811, East India House Records, Vol. I, p. 38.
    (a) Report of the Estate Land Act Committee, Appendix VI, p. 48.
145. Final Report on the survey and settlement of the Province of Orissa, Vol. III, 1800-1900 by S. L. Maddox, p. 430.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dt. 25th February, 1807, p. 129.
    (b) Report of the Land Revenue Commission-Bengal, Vol. I, p. 32 (1940, Bengal Government).
146. William Thackery's report on Ganjam, Dated 15th Feb. 1819 (Madras Rev. Selection), p. 993. Dt. 30. 3. 1819, Revenue Consultation.
147. Letter to Fort St. George dated 12. 4. 1815 (Madras Revenue Selection), p. 639.
148. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 3. 2. 1831, Ganjam, p. 7.
149. Index No. 26/1837, Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 9th January, 1837 (Selection from the Record of Ganjam Collectorate), p. 9.
150. From A. P. Onslow, Collector, Ganjam, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, Dated 2nd November, 1849 (Collector's Report on Chinnakemedy zemindary and land revenue of Amani tables for fusli 1258 or 1848 A.D.), (A. S. O. D., 139-T.N.A.).

151. The Administration of the East India Company, by J. W. Kaye, p. 220.
152 Letter from J. Hanubury, Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Chief Secretary to Government dated 10th August, 1815, pp. 15-16 (Vol. 816/19169. G. D. R. T. N. A. M).
(a) Fifth report, p. 124.
(b) General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 25th January, 1819, p. 140.
(c) General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 1st January, 1814, p. 193.
(d) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, pp. 410-411, Appendix IXII.
(e) The Madras Survey Manual of Department Rules, p. XIII, by F. V. Vincent, Gompertz, (1924).
(f) Manual of the settlement department by Dewan Bahadur J. Lakshmikanta, p. 4.
153. Economic History of India (E. B. Ry) Commissioner Rev. settlement (1887), by R. Dutta, p. 152.
(a) Report of Land Tenures and Revenue system of Orissa and Chattisgarah states by R. K. Ramashyami, 1920, Vol. I, p. 10.
154. Land Revenue Policy of India Govt., p. 43.
(a) Revenue letter to Fort St. George, Dt. 12. 4. 1815, (Madras Revenue Selection), p. 643.
(b) Prosperous British India by W. Digby (1901), pp. 42-43.
155. Land Revenue Policy of the India Government, (1920, Madras), p. 70.
156. Economic History of India (E. B. R) by R. Dutta, p. 152.
(a) Fifth Report, p. 124.
(b) General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 25th January, 1819, p. 140.

157. General Report of the Board of Revenue, Dated 1st January, 1814, p. 193.
158. Letter from J. Hanubury, Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Dated 10th August 1815, pp. 15-16 (Vol. 816/19169, GDR. TNAM).
159. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 25. 1. 1819, p. 140.
160. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th January 1823, p. 6.
    (a) Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, dated 9th January 1837, p. 18 (Index No. 26/1837, Selection from the record of Ganjam Collector).
    (b) Report on Ghumsur zemindary, Letter from J. A. R. Stevenson, Collector, Ganjam to the Board of Revenue, p. 5.
    (c) Report on the settlement of the land revenue of the provinces under the Madras Presidency for fusli 1270 (1868-69), Vol. I.
    (d) Letter from A. P. Onslow, Collector, Ganjam, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, dated 2-11-1849, No. 82, p. 2 (A. S. O. D. 139 T. N. A).
161. The Madras Survey Manual of Department rules, by F. P. Vincent Gompertz, p. XIII.
162. Manual of the settlement department, by Dewan Bahadur J. Lakshmikant, Deputy Commissioner, Rev. Settlement, 1887, p. 4.
    (a) Final Report on the Major settlement operation in Ganjam Ex-Estate areas, pp. 7-9 (1936, Board of Revenue, Orissa).
    (b) Oral Evidence and Memorandum of Mr. P. I. Narashimgham, Estate Tehasildar of Parlakhemundi Estate on 23rd April, 1938, before the Estate Land Act Committee, Part II, p. 75.

(c) Historical Records "Survey of India", by Philmore, Vol. IV, 1830-43.

163. Report on the settlement on the land revenue of the provinces under the Madras Presidency for fusli 1278, i.e. 1868, p. 2.

164. Report on the settlement on the land revenue of the provinces under the Madras Presidency for fusli 1278 i.e. 1868, p. 1.

165. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, p. 410.
 (a) Standing orders of the Board of Revenue upto 31st March 1909 A.D., Ch. I, pp. 1-2 (1900, Board of Revenue, Madras).

166. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Ch. II, Table No. 1, p. 140.
 (a) Standing orders of the Board of Revenue upto 31st March 1900 A.D., Ch. I, p. 180 (1900, Board of Revenue, Madras).

167. Land Tenures in Madras by S. S. Iyenger, p. 167.

168. The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, App. IXII, pp. 410-411.

169. Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency for the year 1877-78, p. XXXVIII, 'Appendix E'.

170. From J. H. Garstin, Esq., Acting Second member of the Board of Revenue on special duty, to the Secretary to Govt. Rev. Deptt., dt. 28-7-1883, p. 53 (Report on the revision of Rev. Establishment in the Madras Presidency, 1883). (A.S.O.B. 361-T.N.A).

171. Report on the Major settlement operation in Ganjam Ex-estate areas, pp. 7-8 (Board of Revenue, Orissa, 1936).

172. Land Revenue Policy of the India Government, pp. 70-72 (1902 cited).

173. Ibid, pp. 73-74.

174. Economic History of India (E.B.R), pp. 139-152.
 (a) Land Tenures in Madras Presidency, by S. S. Iyenger, pp. 152-158.
175. Madras Revenue Selection, p. 946.
176. Report of the Administrative Enquiry Committee, Vol I, 1958, p. 29.
177. The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, Appendix XII, p. 79.
178. From J. H. Gariston, Esq.. Acting Second member, Board of Revenue on special duty, to the Secretary to Govt Rev. Deptt, dated 9th June, 1883 (Report on the Revision of Rev. Estate in the Madras Presidency, 1883), (A.S.O.-B 361 T N.A).
179. The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol III, p. 301.
180. The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. III, p 301.
181. Ibid, Vol. I, Ch II, pp. 149-159 and also (a) Regulation I of 1803.
182 The Aristocracy of Southern India, by A. Vadivelu, p. 64.
183. Report on the Revision of the Revenue Establishments in the Madras Presidency, 1883. J. H Garstin, Esq. Acting Second member of the Board of Revenue on special duty, to Secretary to Govt Revenue Department dated 28th July, 1883, p. 35 (Vol. A S.O. B-361 T.N A).
184 The Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, p. 57.

3 *FAMINES*

General Conditions

The whole of the Nineteenth Century, for Southern Orissa, was a period of struggles, scarcities and famines. The political unrest which prevailed over the tract for about a hundred years, since the accession of the British power over the tract, contributed much to the decline of social and economic condition of the people. The Rajas of the region rose in rebellion both collectively and independently at different times against the Company authority to defend their hereditary rights, status and power. The hill tribes of the region had their own rebellion organisations for their own cause, and these people were backed in their effort by the more polished men of the tract. In some instances, the risings became collaborative, both of the people and the Zemindars.

The factors responsible to cause such political risings were many. First, the administration of the East India Company had affected severely the social status of the Rajas of the Southern Orissa. They were deprived of their police and judicial powers. The Company wanted to weaken the Rajas so that they would not endanger the interests of the Company.[1]

The East India Company had interfered directly in the matters of succession over certain zemindaries and had legalised power according to its own choice and necessity.[2] The Company authorities nominated persons to the management of certain zemindaries against the wishes of the people. These nominated persons proved more burdensome upon the economy of the people and in many instances had acted against the welfare of them.[3]

The people revolted against these nominees of the Company in their respective zemindary on their own ground.[4] The consequences of such political risings had great impact upon the general tranquillity and social conditions of the region. The social position of the people were not safe. Life and property became insecure.[5] People frequently changed their abode from one zemindary to another.[6] Their temporary emigration gave rise to many issues chiefly concerning land and labour. Issues concerning the ownership of land were solved by the active intervention of the village panchayats which effected amicable settlement between the disputants.[7]

Due to disturbances, agricultural operations were greatly disturbed. Whatever stocks the people had with them were either plundered or forcibly taken away by one or other adherents of the party in rebellion or by the Company to meet the requirement of its military establishment in the district.[8]

Irregular agriculture operations rendered great difficulties to the life of the daily labourers. There were no other industries which would have offered a reasonable wage for their subsistence. The government could not take any benevolent measure, except its administrative measures.[9]

The condition of the agricultural labourers became more worse.[10] The Land Revenue system and administration of the Company either under the Temporary or Permanent settlement gave no relief to the peasants. In either case

they were left under the mercy of the zemindars to obtain their proportionate share and possession of land.[11] Under the permanent settlement enforcement of the ryots' right on land became a matter of Court of Law to which the poor peasants could not resort easily. Their conventional outlook and regard to the Rajas or the Zemindars refrained them to suit against them, who mostly neglected execution of the provisions of the land regulations in this regard.[12]

The position of the peasants economically was not better. Substitution of payment partly in coins, when there was a paucity of it, rendered them helpless; but responded the measures of the government by letting more of their produces to the market at a cheaper rate with a hope to accumulate circulating medium to effect payment of revenue to the government.[13] Under the native system of cultivation, the cultivators did not get much grain in quantity and good in quality. The price of such grain was not favourable to bring them the required sum of money for the purpose of rent.[14]

The ryots in the zemindary tract had given 50% of their product as rent. After that a little remained with them to utilise and improve their land, besides their personal expenses. The practice of intermediary tenures had deprived the under tenants from all the chances of accumulating wealth. The peasants suffered in disease and poverty.[15] The position of the ryots in the government taluks was better than of the ryots in the zemindaries. In the government taluks there were no intermediaries, and the government had direct relation with them.[16] The ryots under the government had enjoyed the advantages of remission, in cases of failure in crops by flood or drought. In the year 1868-69, government had granted a remission to the extent of Rs. 11,653-3-7 to the ryots of 120 villages under the taluks of Berhampur and Chicacole.[17] In the latest part of the century, government had undertaken certain measures on works for the improvement of irrigation, only in the

government taluks. The ryots in the government taluks had enjoyed more material benefits than of the ryots in the zemindaries.[18]

In the whole of the Southern Orissa, the agricultural class was never free from the exploitation by the merchant class. Absence of good stores compelled them to dispose off their produces in an inappropriate time and at a low price.[19] In the entire region of Southern Orissa, the labourers received their payment in kind. This was one of the reasons that kept the agricultural products especially grain, at a low price. There were no other employment opportunities except the village crafts. A general absence of a proportionate rising in the manufacturing class had kept the agricultural population economically poor and backward.[21]

Apart from the political unrest, the natural calamities, such as drought and epidemic of 1815 had destroyed to a greater extent the man power of the region. These had ravaged the economic prosperity of the region. In Ganjam 20,000 people were carried off by the epidemic in course of three years of its effect.[22] The 'Pyndary' attack in the following years i.e. 1815-16 upon the zemindary of Parlakhemundi and upto Ganjam added much to the disturbances of the general tranquillity and economic drain of the tract.[23]

During the first half of the Nineteenth Century neither the government nor the people had evinced a sense of interest in the matter of agriculture works. Irrigation projects like dykes, tanks and canals were left utterly neglected. The land holders did not invest any amount either on land or on irrigation projects. Only 352 villages of the region had a little number of irrigation works in the shape of tanks and embankments. People cultivated the bed land of the tanks by lowering the water level, break-opening or breaching the bund.[24] The need for irrigation

tanks for irrigation purpose was ignored. They became seasonal land for cultivation.[25] The Governments desire to convert such seasonal lands into regular cultivable land was an unfortunate attempt, which however was not favourably accepted by many.[26]

It was unfortunate that about three quarters of the century, government was more concerned with the collection of land revenue rather than making any improvement either for the cultivators or agricultural land. It should be accepted that government paid rather exclusive attention on easier and quicker collection of land revenue than on production with no interest for long range consequences. The land revenue administration of the government did little to the ryots in the zemindary tracts to develop and meet their wants.[27] These ryots were seriously affected in seasons of drought. They had no sufficient surplusages to pull on during the days of scarcity and became easy victim of the village usurers.[28]

After the famine of 1866, Government became conscious of their duty towards the people of the country. In view of the Famine Commission's report, government had created special departments to investigate the condition of agriculture in India and to develop that culture and class of society.[29] Accordingly, in 1869 the Board of Revenue called upon all the Collectors to report on the best measures for the introduction of improved agriculture appliances into their districts. Government, after receipt of certain proposals, considered to establish model farms in several localities with a view to educate the cultivators on the application of improved agriculture appliances to effect a sensible improvement in their culture. As such Bellary, Coimbatore, Tinnevelly and Ganjam were choosen as suitable places for the purposes of model forms. But the action was delayed by administrative considerations and a fresh beginning was made in 1877.[30]

Government assistance became essential in every way to the agricultural class, in order to bring that class to a standard of material advantage. More inducement and administrative arrangements facilitating the landless ryots and a mass of the population, who were economically poor, especially, the Kondhs, to occupy land would in no way improve their economic standard or the production. What most of them required were the knowledge of cultivation of the new produces and sound economy. So the proposal of the government to induce the Daringibadi Kondhs to cultivate wheat on the suggestions of M. R. Weld, the District Judge of Ganjam then was finally dropped.[31]

To overcome the problems of irrigation, Mr. M. R. Weld, the District Judge of Ganjam suggested a total remission in the assessment of the land to help the ryots of the Southern Orissa, with a view to help them to invest that amount on the improvement of their own irrigation sources. He had also suggested the government to protect the ryots from heavy assessment on the results of improvement. He opined that the profits from the works of improvement must be secured to the ryots.[32]

The work of the government to orient the cultivators with the developed technique of cultivation was not a positive method. Most of them were illiterate and their children grew up in ignorance. It was the popular education by which the condition of the masses could have been permanently raised. In the entire region of Southern Orissa the illiterate labourers were left to work without superior guidance. The economic improvement of the country was depending on the raising of annual crops. A general improvement was not possible until they were raised intellectually to the modern level.[33] And the Government was unsuccessful in this venture,[34] because the text books in which the subject of agriculture was included as a part of education of the village schools had little impact upon the society. Most part of the

lessons were dealt abstractly and at the same time these were less intelligible to the village mind.[35]

Usually, Government charged a certain cess when land was irrigated from the Government source of irrigation. But towards the last year of the century a question arose as to the charge to be made on special crops. For the crops of Sugarcane and Elephant Yam, generally, the charge was made one-half the ordinary assessment for the use of Government water, if there was water in the irrigation source only for the period in which a single cash crop could be raised. The Board of Revenue had already laid the principle in this regard. The principle was that a single wet assessment was to be charged in respect of crops, when there was water in the irrigation source, after the wet crop under the same source had been harvested.[36] The 'Fasalghasti' was not charged for the culture of Sugarcane and Yam on wet land, if the water supply available in the irrigation source was sufficient for only a single crop.[37] This policy of the government helped the poor peasants to derive much benefits from their own labour and encouraged many to bring their land under cultivation of cash crops.[38]

Famines

The years of famine in Southern Orissa during the Nineteenth Century were 1801, 1836, 1865-66, 1888-89 and 1896-97.[39] In the proceeding century the region had experienced the hardships of famine in 1775 and 1789-92,[40] occasioned by continual drought and failure in crops. The common causes of famine throughout the Nineteenth Century were many. Failure of the monsoons, continual disturbances in the tract, reckless exportation in years of abundance, absence of general insurance of food grains against the probable scarcity, absence of multiple crop cultivation and mismanagement of irrigational works contributed much to cause famines during the Nineteenth Century.[41]

The measures which the Government adopted to the relief of famine stricken people in the years 1789-92 did not bring any solace to the suffering people. As a preventive measure the government suspended levy of duty on import and export grain to encourage import of grain into the district. Further, government prevented transport of grain from Vizianagaram to Lord Jagannath at Puri. This was to stop migration of hungry people to Puri.[42]

The relife measures of the Government in the form of 'Chutrums' or Choulteries did not attract many to find their food. The people preferred death to starvation, as their prejudicial sense of religion and caste did not permit them to receive cooked food at these centres. Moreover, during these years, the Government did not give any importance to the effects of famines and economic standard of the people. On the other hand, they were eager for 'Zuft' of the estates which fell for arrears of land revenue.[43]

The farmers of the land were on no better position. The wet and dry lands cultivated before the famine proceedings five years were 1,59,739 bharanams each. During the famine years the extent cultivated under Dry and Wet were 85,442 and 4,83,739 bharanams respectively. This shows that there was an average decline in the extent of cultivation by 9% in dry and 17% in wet, over the preceeding five years extent. The extent of land cultivated during the eight years following the famine 1792-1800, both in wet and dry were 13,30,399 and 2,15,817 bharanams. This shows an average decrease of 9% in dry and 15½% in wet cultivation, as compared with the extent of cultivation during the five years proceeding the famine.[44]

The actual produce from land for the five years preceeding the famine was 60,412 bharanams from dry and 6,13,804 bharanams from wet cultivation. During the three years of famine the dry produce was 29,514 bharanams and 1,19,350 bharanams from the wet land. Thus there was an average

decrease in the yield by 19% and 45% from the land respectively, over the quantity obtained during the preceeding five years. The produce during the eight years succeeding the famine both in dry and wet were 63,880 and 7,36,601 bharanams respectively. Compared to the quantity of produce of five years preceeding the famine, there was an average decrease in the quantity of the eight years produce by 34% and 24% respectively of dry and wet. This was a main cause that contributed much to the famine of 1799-1801. The disturbances, which were chronic since the date of British occupation, were responsible to cause such a decline in the extent of cultivation.[45]

In spite of such a ruinous conditions into which the country had fallen, the authorities did not hesitate to collect the land revenue in full. Mr. Cherry in 1801 had expected revenue from all the estates of the region to the amount of Rs. 1,58,500/- which in 1788 amount to Rs. 2,16,281/- a decrease of 25% only.[46]

The distress continued till 1806. It became so great that many estates could not pay their tribute and fell into arrear, which in total amounted to more than three lakhs. Though many of the estates needed remission half of the amount of assessment, none of them were given this opportunity except Jellentra and Surangi.[47]

The shadow of scarcity reflected its horrible hands in 1836, of course in a lesser degree than of 1789-92. Rice which had been sold 60 to 80 seers a rupee fell down to 20 to 30 seers a rupee. The scarcity was felt until 1841, and the effects of it were felt locally in Ghumsur and in the adjoining zemindaries.[48]

The causes and consequences of 1866 famine were different from those of 1789-92, 1799-1801 and 1836 famines. During the latter part of the year 1865 and in early months of 1866, in the 9th Anka of the Puri Raja, the famine was felt along the Eastern Coast of India.[49] With this famine,

the area affected in Madras Presidency was about 43,000 sq. miles with a population of about six millions. The suffering of the people in Ganjam and Bellary was most severe, and it necessiated extraordinary measures of relief for the people in Ganjam.[50] But the intensity of famine was high in Orissa.[51]

In the preceeding years, production was scanty and this did not enable the cultivators to withstand the natural calamity of 1866. Many of them had exhausted their resources to meet the demand of their respective Landlords and the Government. Their social and economic position was so aggravated that they could not withstand any hope of assistance from the Government side, except to resign their holding and migrate elsewhere for a bare living. Many good and established ryots were reduced to the grade of a village cooly or labourer.[52]

The local authority of the tract for some time could not visualise the ensuing consequences of the famine, nor devoted any attention to the problem of scarcity. The real cause of delay in relief was not the Kondh rebellion as was claimed by certain administrative officials. People in large number migrated to other parts of the country for a mere subsistence. Those who remained on an attachment to their home land had subsisted their living on wild beasts and plants.[53]

Before any sort of help reached to the people, an appeal from the Collector, Mr. G. R. Forbes found a ready response from the natives and European residents. An amount of Rs. 3,571/- was raised as local subscription for the relief of the people. The zemindars had also responded to the call and opened relief centres in their respective areas for the relief of their people. The zemindars of Mundasa, Chikiti and Khallikote had opened relief houses in their estates in the early month of 1866. On March 14th Rs. 2,500/- was placed at the disposal of the Collector from the fund of the Parlakhemundi estate for establishing a relief house.

Simultaneously, Government had opened relief centres, which failed in purpose of their being established, due to several causes. People in general disliked to eat cooked food at the hands of the Government. So strong was the prejudice that even the Panos, once a low and degraded race, had objected and refused to attend at the funeral rites of any of their caste who had eaten food at a 'Circar' or Government 'Chutrum' or an institution for relief. This feeling was deeply felt among the people in the zemindaries which were in the North of the Mahendra Maliahs than in the Southern parts of it. The reason usually alleged was not on the mode of cooking, but on the fact that it was 'Circar' food, food from a Christian Government. But there was a general acceptance of raw rice which was given accordingly.[54]

In the month of April, 1866 Beredi, Jellentra, and Barwa estates opened relief centres with a grant of Rs. 3,000/-, Rs. 2,000/-, and Rs. 1,000/- respectively to feed 300, 200, 100 ryots for nine months. At this time stocks in the Government Choultry were exhausted and the local authority faced deficiency in fund to aid the relief centres properly. The situation was managed on the active intelligence of the Collector, when he purchased rice on liberal terms and conditions from Adinarayan Chetty, a merchant of Berhampur.[55]

The distress and deaths were increasing daily. An appeal to the press of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and to the Financial Secretary to the Government of India was not without any effects. From the Bombay Cotton Famine Committee Fund Rs. 20,000 - was received, from the Government of India, to the relief of the people in the region.[56]

The Government employees, especially, the under Gumustas and the peons felt the severity of the prices of food grains. The government granted them a batta @Rs. 2/- P.M. for some months. The total cost on this help amounted to Rs. 2,028-12-0.[57]

During the period of scarcity, Government administered the relief measures on the principle of 'food for work'. In order to check the pressure on relief medical examination was conducted at the relief centres to filter the more able bodied men from the reduced ones to the relief, and divert the former to engage in an effective manner on a productive way. In a period of distress a perfect working of the system became probable, and ultimately it might be supposed that Government had shifted its responsibility upon the zemindars, whose contributive nature could not check the incessant rate of mortality in their respective areas.[58]

The mortality was chiefly among the class of agricultural labourers. The effect of deaths due to famine upon the region was so severe that for some years a deficient wanting the labour power to cultivate the land could not be overcome.[58a]

The catastrophy of 1866 famine was not forgotten. In 1871 and 1878 scarcity in Southern Orissa was occasioned by price rising and prices which prevailed on food grains in the Southern India due to famine in that part of the Presidency.[59] The Government did not consider relief a necessity to the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam in this year.[60] The result was that a large number of people migrated to British-Burmah to find work and means.[61]

In the year 1888-89 the people of Southern Orissa had experienced another famine. In this year famine was confined to Ganjam district only. The unfavourable season of the year coupled with large export of food grains became the imminent cause of the famine.[62] In the early year of 1887, no land was brought under cultivation by September for the second crop. Land, that was brought under cultivation both for wet and dry crops by September of that year measured 36,549 dry and 41,523 wet acres, excluding the zemindary tracts.[63] In the Presidency the total extent of land cultivated in that year was 56,10,800 acres. Tanjore had the largest

extent of cultivation. The proportion contributed by Ganjam to this total extent of paddy cultivation was 4% and Malbr 10%. The area brought under irrigation in the district of Ganjam by the year 1885-86 was 1,63,069 acres for the first crop and 3,512 acres for the second crop. In the following year it was 1,97,370 and 3,988 acres for first and second crop respectively.[64]

To overcome the ravages of the famine permanently, the Madras Government in the following year had decided to arrange test relief work according to the needs of the people, providing employment to the village labourers. Thus for the year 1891-92 the famine relief work of the district constituted of the following nature.[65]

Tàluks	*Total amount*	*No. of works*	*Works consisting*	
			Less than 5,000/-	*More than 5,000/-*
Berhampur	40,890/-	1	30,890/-	10,000/-
Ghumsur	13,998/-		13,998/-	—
Chicacole	1,37,857/-	8	25,587/-	1,12,000/-

By alloting a number of works over the tract under different nature, the Government expected that 5% of the population of the district would be benefited under employment.[66] In the following year a sum of Rs. 46,99,562 was estimated to be spent on works in the district to afford employment to 27.5% of the population of the district for three months. The nature of works constituted repairing of roads in the Agency tracts of Parlakhemundi, Ramagiri, Baliguda, Udayagiri and irrigation works in the Taluks of Ghumsur, Berhampur and Chicacole.[67]

These measures helped the hill people little. But the Government did not impose any preventive measures to check grain export of the district. During the years of

unfavourable season i.e. 1891 and 1892, 30,000 and 6,500 tons of food grains were exported from the district.[68]

The peculiarities of the famine of 1896-97 was that it was succeeded by four favourable years, where as the famine of 1888-89 had indifferent years. The area of distress of 1896-97 famine varied considerably within the district from locality to locality, and in degree to that of 1889 famine in which loss of human life was not very large.[69] The factors which modified the conditions of the district to those of 1889 were :

(a) the natural increase of the population ;

(b) the construction of the Rushikulya reservoir and works in connection with it ; and

(c) the opening of the coast tracts and improved communication owing to the construction of the East-Coast Railway.

There was 5.98% of increase in population in 1891 Census over that of 1881 Census population of the district. But there was no proportionate increase in the production of food grains. There were no sufficient projects to cause an increase in the production of food grains by bringing more land under cultivation. The construction of the East-Coast Railway acted prejudically to the welfare of the labouring and non-commercial community of the region. It helped in transporting a large quantity of food grains.[70]

The distress of 1896-97 famine was confined to the four districts of Deccan and the two Northern districts, Ganjam and Vizagapatam of the Presidency. In these two Northern districts, the South-West monsoon of 1896 was to the normal. But the succeeding North-West monsoon failed entirely. The years preceeding the famine had been the years of prosperity, and 'reckless exportation' arose the necessity for the measures of state relief which did not begin until March, 1897.[71] The following statement shows the quantity of food

grains exported and their value for the last ten years ending in 1896-97 of the district Ganjam.[72]

Years	*Exported in CWT*	*Value in Rupess*
1888-89	456	1,296-0-0
1889-90	8,888	32,732-0-0
1890-91	1,32,159	4,66,813-0-0
1891-92	2,27,406	6,98,919-0-0
1892-93	4,59,993	18,45,656-0-0
1893-94	2,53,780	9,73,789-0-0
1894-95	3,92,704	12,55,157-0-0
1895-96	9,90,639	27,78,510-0-0
1896-97	61,285	2,68,093-0-0

Thus the famine of 1896-97 was clearly brought on by 'over-exports' combined with a failure of crops. Grain in many remote localities became a non-procurable commodity.[73] In Mahendragiri and Singarasa hills the Savaras starved much due to failure of the Mohowa and Mango crops.[74] Relief to these people was not given properly.[75]

In the entire region the degree of distress varied from locality to locality and from community to community.[76] The following table gives the area and the population affected in the famine of 1896-97.[77]

	Government		*Zemindary*	
Nature of affect	*Area in sq miles*	*Population*	*Area in sq. miles*	*Population*
Severely	742	3,41,249	1,715	5,46,316
Affected	1,324	2,63,972	463	1,37,317
Moderate	714	1,27,263	842	2,84,139
Total area & Population	2,780*	7,32,484	3,020	9,68,472

The total area affected in the Presidency was 26,073 square miles with a population of 56,74,000 The number of mortality was high in the Northern districts of the

Presidency. In Ganjam the death from all causes was 50.1% on average; viz. 12.5% in Cholera, 11.7% in Small Pox and from others 25.9%. The average death for five years ending in 1897 was 18.1% and for the last ten years was 20.8%. In Vizagapatam district the average death from all causes was 31.6% viz. 2.4% in Cholera, 0.6% in Small Pox and 27.6% in others. In the said district the death rate for the last five and ten years ending in 1897 was 17.5% and 19.3% respectively.[78] The death rate in 1888-89 was 1% per mile.[79]

The average percentage starved in the famine of 1896-97 was 9.06% of the population of the district of Ganjam. But this percentage of starving population varied from place to place. In Berhampur it was 32.63%, Somepeta 24.64%, Ganjam 14.13%, Parlakhemundi 16.18% and in Itchapur 10.44%. The Raja of Parlakhemundi employed 10,000 labourers in his estate on relief works, otherwise, private relief was not given on any extended scale, except through the Famine Fund Committee.[80]

Effects of the Famines

The effects of famine upon the social and economic life of the people were many. It affected in different degrees to different communities. The Weavers, a class very numerous at one time in the district, especially in the town of Berhampur, once famed for their manufacture of cotton and silk, had suffered much. Owing to the large export demand of raw cotton and their inability to compete with the foreign manufacture, their profession did not bring them much. The natives did not buy the English manufacture for some time, as long as the native cloth was obtained cheaply. The general rise in prices of all necessaries in life owing to the increase export trade of the region and in certain instantaneous scarcities compelled the weavers to enhance the price of their manufacture in proportion to the price of cotton. As such, when the price of cotton rose up, the weavers not only faced

a huddle in their earning, but also in their profession. In famine years there was no general demand for their cloth.[81]

The weavers of Southern Orissa depended on local sale of their cloth and not on any extensive export to the districts of Orissa, viz. Puri, Cuttack and Sambalpur. During the period of disturbances and scarcities many of them perished in poverty. In 1785 there were 2,300 weavers in the Moherry Zemindary with a total loom of 461. Their annual manufacture at that time was estimated at over a lakh of rupees. Their number came down to 380 in 1867. In between 1860 and 1865 the cloth they wove was valued at Rs. 5,29,480/-. During the famine years 1865-66, they manufactured only to the amount of 17,781/-. Due to the cheapness of the Company cloth, the weavers' manufacture, at the cost of the Government relief during the period of 1896-97 famine, could not compete with the formers production. Their economic prosperity was totally blocked.[82]

Secondly, during the period of famine and after famine, offences against property became a common means of living of the lower class of people. Cattle of the ryots were stolen and slaughtered for food. This kind of offence was more in villages which were small and unprotected.

Thirdly, Pauperism, an evil offshoot of famine grew more. In the famine years there was an increase in the number of borrowers. The total number of borrowers in the famine year 1896-97 was 17,408, while in the previous year it was 12,592. The following figure shows the general increase in registration receipts and total value of transactions during the years 1895-97.[83]

Year	*Receipts*	*Value of transaction*
1895-96	20,545/-	32,41,041/-
1896-97	56,472/-	35,11,518/-

Fourthly, prices rose high. The following table is a comparative statement of the average price of rice which

prevailed during the two famines i.e. 1788-1792[84] and 1888-89 and 1890.[85]

Year	1788	1789	1790	1888	1889	1890
	seers a rupee	*seers a rupee*	*seers a rupee*	*seers a rupee*	*seers a rupee*	*seers a rupee*
Rice	38.7	30.7	24.0	14.8	13.4	12.6

The cultivators in the region borrowed money from the merchants with contract to deliver them their produce after harvest. The cultivators did not have adequate means of investment which would have entitled them to reap the consequences of high price. None of them received Government help in this regard. The merchants received certain favour from the Government and for that they monopolised over the price rate during the period of scarcity.[86]

The Problem of Migration

Until the famine of 1866, the inhabitants of the tract were firm settlers in their home land. In the early years of the Nineteenth Century, during the period of disturbances people did not leave their home land. The poor natives migrated to the neighbour zemindary in search of their means for a simple living, and as such the nature of their migration was only temporary. It effected usually the village economy. Government became conscious of the fact of emigration and to avoid the unhealthy competition among the village labourers planned execution of minor village works.[87] In this regard the Government was successful to some extent.

But after the period of Sepoy Mutiny, emigration became a social and economic problem of the region. In 1861-62 labour was on greater demand in Ceylon. Formerly, the Ceylon government obtained all their labourers from Tanjore, Madura and Tinnevelly. In Ceylon an able bodied man obtained Rs. 0-4-0 (four annas) a day. But of late lobour there had increased in value to such an extent that the same man refused to cross over the Ceylon for the old rate of

remuneration. Under such a situation, the Government sought a new field for recruiting their labour market and selected Ganjam. Here the labourers so selected were bound with three years contract to work under the labour agents. This labour agreement gave rise to strong public opinions against the interests af the labour agents. Under the contract the labourers' safety was endangered and they became subject of exploitation. Government became sensible of the problem and issued a proclamation letting the labourers free to make their choice, whether or not to enter into any contract, after their arrival in Ceylon. This liberal condition attracted many to emigrate temporarily or permanently with a hope to earn and to make their subsistence easy.[88]

Emigration from the region to Ceylon was not so high as in the case of British Burma.[89] Many Telugu people found their way to the latter country from the ports of Barwa and Callingapatam. From the port of Gopalpur the coolies were shipped to the Assam Tea Gardens. The Kondhs and the Savaras commanded a special price for the work in the Assam Tea gardens owing to their immunity from fever and industriousness. These people were shipped under the Assam Labour and Immigration Act. The number of emigrants and immigrants in different years were as under.[90]

Year	*Number emigrated*	*Number Immigrated*
1877-78	1,087	39
1878-79	15,394	3,118
1891-92	23,056	6,479
1892-93	13,219	9,006
1893-94	11,517	8,489
1894-95	9,592	5,368
1895-96	11,473	5,403
1898-97	20,061	3,952

The Population of Southern Orissa as per Census 1871, 1881 and 1891 were as follows.[91]

Population of Southern Orissa as per Census
(Ganjam and Koraput)

Year	*Ganjam*	*Jeypore Koraput*	*Total*
1871	15,20,088	3,14,481	18,34,569
1881	17,49,604	6,90,303	24,39,907
1891	18,96,803	6,93,303	25,90,106

The famines resulted in large scale emigration. This was due to low wage that prevailed in the region. The rate of wages that prevailed at the beginning of the century was Rs. 0-1-4 per day for a man cooly and Rs. 0-1-0 for a woman cooly. Thus when paid on monthly basis man received Rs. 2-8-0 and woman Rs. 1-14-0. The rate that prevailed in 1867 in the region varied from Rs. 0-1-6 to 0-2-0 a day for a man cooly and Rs. 0-1-6 for a woman cooly. Thus there was 75% rising in the wages of the unskilled labourers. But there was no increase in the agricultural instruments, ropes, baskets and etc. This apparently did not give a corresponding rise in the rate of remuneration for the skilled labourers. While the price during these sixty year rose by 300%.[92] The labour class did not enjoy the advantages of price rise, as there was no increase demand on labour at higher rates of wages, and due to their slow grasping and overcoming the barriers of custom, caste and ignorance.[93]

Statement 'A'

Statement showing the deaths in the Ganjam District
from October, 1865 to September, 1866

	Population as per Census 1861-62	*Cholera*	*Small-pox*	*Starva-tion*	*Others*	*Total*
Ghumsur	1,29,984	3,262	832	1,392	1,724	7,210
Berhampur	2,13,534	4,466	1,150	3,655	2,989	12,260
Ganjam town	5,741	130	37	199	123	489
Total	3,49,259	7,858	2,019	5,246	4,836	19,959

	Population as per Census 1861-62	Cholera	Small-pox	Starvation	Others	Total
Barwa	8,136	144	1	2	95	242
Jelentra	11,568	267	1	43	199	510
Buredy	7,775	311	23	586	111	1,031
Rambha	2,287	153	140	92	103	488
Total	29,766	875	165	723	508	2,271
Calicote	36,056	1,281	103	1,214	293	2,891
Haulghur	54,528	1,463	82	847	334	2,726
Seragada	10,097	322	17	160	137	636
Badagada	11,427	407	87	230	230	954
Chinna-kemedy	27,052	603	129	491	379	1,602
Pedakemedy	35,577	773	217	552	318	1,860
Hoomah	3,937	102	10	224	60	396
Carried over	1,78,674	4,951	645	3,718	1,751	11,065
Paloor	6,095	182	9	459	49	699
Aska	15,251	251	66	123	175	615
Dharacote	26,916	459	130	432	311	1,332
Burangy	12,277	285	40	75	197	597
Jarada	4,939	147	40	6	109	292
Chagertty	34,719	791	107	85	348	1,331
Budarsingy	1,548	67	5	—	43	112
Mandasa	23,360	451	24	—	189	664
Total	2,93,779	7,584	1,056	4,898	3,169	16,707
Parlakhe-mundi	1,82,896	4,262	878	9	2,775	7,924
Grand Total	8,65,700	20,579	4,118	10,876	11,288	46,861

In the Entire district

Population	11,22,464
Deaths	56,262

REFERENCES

1. Report of the Board of Revenue, Circuit Committee Record, 1783-84, p. 167-169. (Mr. Oram's observation dated 12th September, 1784. (Vol. 18-A-8/7854, T.N.A.M.).
2. Letter from the Collector, Ganjam, to the Secretary to Government, Fort. St. George dated 24th July, 1839, p. 9 (Vol. A.S.O. D. 383—105 T.N.A).
3. Letter from H. Spottiswood, Collector, Ganjam to the Chief Secretary to Govt , Fort. St. George dated 25th January, 1817, p. 50-55 (Vol. 756-G.D.R.T.N.A.M).
   (a) General Report of the Board or Revenue dated 11th February, 1815, pp. 1-2.
4. Ibid.
5. Letter from H. Spottiswood, to the President and Member of the Board of Revenue. dated 6th February, 1817, p. 25 (Vol. 797. G.D.R.T.N.A.M).
6. Ganjam consultations dated 29th May, 1782, p. 14 (Vol. 732 G.D.R.T.N.A.M).
   (a) Petition of lutchema Bhunj dt. 8-2-1788 (Vol. 730-GDRTNAM).
   (b) Letter from Henry Rue, to Moragm Williams dt. 25-3-1779, p. 96 (Vol. 689-GDRTNAM).
7. Report of Captain J. Campbell, Principal Assistant Agent to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam dt. 6th January, 1842, p. 7 (R.M.A).
8. William Thackery's report on Ghumsur Zemindary on dt. 30th March, 1819 and on Ganjam dt. 15. 2. 1819, pp. 999/980-987 (O.S.A.R-III I-1051) (Madras Revenue Section).
   (a) Third Report on Ghumsur dt. 11.5.1837. (G. S. Russell's report on the Disturbances on Ghumsur Zemindary to the Chief Secretary to Govt. Fort. St. George), pp. 16-18. (O.S.A. R-III-I/1161).

9. Report from J. A. R. Stevenson.
10. The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, p. 18 (1911-Government of India).
11. Letter from A. Robertson, Esq. Collector, Vizagapatam to W. H. Bagely, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort. St. George, No. 78 dt. 25. 7. 1854. (Selection from the Records of Madras Govt., No. XXXI (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
   (a) Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India, p. 430 by Edward Thomson and G. T. Garratt.
12. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, dt. 2. 12. 1864, No. 7843. (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
13. Letter from Robert Alexander to the Magistrate of the Zilla of Ganjam, dt. 27.10.1806, p. 63 (Proceeding of Robert Alexander, Collector, Ganjam dt. 17.9.1806. Vol. 786-GDRTNAM).
14. Letter from A. D. Campbell, Revenue Department to the Acting Collector, Ganjam dt. 14.2.1819, pp. 41-47. (Vol. 823-GDRTNAM).
15. Report of Mr. G. S. Forbes, Collector, Ganjam on the condition of the ryots in the district of Ganjam, p. CCXIVIII. (Memorandum on the administration of the Madras Presidency for the last forty years (Madras 1893. APSA Hyderabad).
16. Ibid.
   (a) An enquiry into the incidence of Taxation in British India, p. 11 by D. Barbour (1881-London).
   (b) The Economic Development of India, p. 99 by Vera Anstey (1957-London).
17. Report on the settlement of the land revenue of the provinces under the Madras Presidency for Fusli 1278 or 1868-69, p. 5 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
   (a) Letter from S. C. Johnson Esq., Collector to the Secretary to Commissioner of Revenue

Settlement and Dir. of the Department Land Record, dt. 2.7.1890, No. 211, B. R. Pro. (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

18. Replies of Capt. T. Beekly, B. E. Executive Engineer on Special duty in Ganjam to Circular No. 6 dt. 30.4. 1869, Question No. 5 and Ans. 5.
19. Proceeding of Robert Alexander, Esq., Collector, Ganjam dt. 17.9. 1806, p. 63, (Vol. 786-GDRTNAM).
20. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dated 16. 7. 1890 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
    (a) General report of the Board of Revenue dt. 31.1.1789. (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
21. Letter from the Honourable Court of Directors dated 6th June, 1814, p. 314. (Vol. 815-GDRTNAM).
22. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, Appendix XII, p. 77.
23. The Parlakhemundi Zemindary, pp. 29-30 (1918-Parlakhemundi.
    (a) Letter from H. Spottiswood, Collector of Ganjam dated 6th February, 1817 to the President and Member of Board of Revanue, pp. 24-25 (Vol. 797, Records of letters sent in the Revenue Deptt. during the management of Mrs. Spottiswood Collector for 1817 (G.D.R. T.N.A.M.).
24. Replies of Capt. T. Beekly, B. E. Executive Engineer on Special duty in the Ganjam District to Circular No. 3 dt. 18. 3. 1869, Q. & A No. 17 dt. 12. 4. 1869.
25. Replied of Mr. T. D. Harris, Asst. Engineer, Ganjam to Circular No. 3 dt. 18. 3. 1869, Q & A No. 1 dt. 26. 3. 1869.
26, Replies by J. Lever dated 12. 4. 1869. (ibid).
27. From A. P. Onslow, Esq. Collector, Ganjam to W. H. Bagely, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue,

Fort. St. George, No. 13 dated 27. 1. 1853, pp. 47-48. [Selection from the Records of Madras Government No. XXXI (OSA-R-III-I-1162].

28. Agricultural banks in Madras by C. K. Menon, p. 20 (Indian Agriculturist, Vol. XX, 1.1.1896 (Ganjam Collectorate library).

29. Resolution on the Proceedings of the Agriculture Conferences, 1893, pp. 95-96.

30. Report of the Agricultural Committee—'An Historical note on the work of the Agricultural Department based on the Records of the Board of Revenue, Appendix B, pp. 37-38 by C. Benson, Esq. M.R.A.C. (A.S.O.B. 73-T.N.A).

31. Replies to the interrogatories of the Agricultural Committee, by M. R. Weld, Esq., Dist. Judge, Ganjam, on Seeds implements, Irrigation wells, remission of assessment (Report of the Agricultural Committee, Appendix E, pp. 176-223. (A.S.O. B-73-T.N.A).

32. Ibid.

33. Proceeding of the Agricultural Conference held in the Revenue and Agricultural Deptt. at Simla on 6th to 13th Octother, 1890, p. 46 (A. S. O. B. 4 T. N. A).

34. Proceeding of the Govt. of Madras, Revenue Deptt. No. 515, dt. 4. 7 1890. Appendix-'E', p. XXVI. (Vol. ASO-B-4 TNA).

35. Proceeding of the Agricultural Committee held in the Deptt. of Revenue & Agricultural at Simla on 2nd to 7th October, 1893, Resolution No. 2, 4, 9 and 10, p. 3. (A. S. O. B-5 T. N. A).

36. Letter from H. D. Taylor, Collector, Ganjam to the Secretary to the Commissioner of Rev. Deptt. and Land Record & Agricultural Deptt., Chatrapore dated 12. 3. 1899, No. 713 [Manuscript record (RDS 518 2104 Sub-Collector, Berhampur, Ganjam Record)].

(a) The Economic Development of India, p. 164 by Vera Anstey, (1957-London).

(b) Proeeeding of the Board of Revenue (Revenue Settlement and Land Record and Agriculture for the month of Nov. 1890, Resolution No. 341 dt. 5. 11. 1890.

(c) Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency during the year 1879-80, Sec. II, Ch. II, p. 48.

37. Resolution No. 135 dated 25th May, 1899, Board of Revenue.

38. Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1898-1899, Ch. IV, p. 144 (A. P. S. A. Hyderabad).

40. Political Economy, pp. 143-144 by Charles S. Devas.

(a) Final Report on the Survey and Settlement of the Provinces of Orissa, 1800-1900, Vol. II, p. 436 by S. I. Maddox.

(b) The Orissa Historical Journal, Vol, VI, 1957. 'The Orissa Famine', 1866, p. 93 by Prabhat Mukherjee.

41. Letter to W. Nathaniel Webb, Manager and Collector of Ganjam Havelly dt. 7. 11-1790, p. 417 (Vol. 701, GDRTNAM-Ganjam Factory Record).

(a) Minute of Robert Duncan dt. 12. 10. 1789, p. 295, Vol. 736, Current Committee Report).

(b) Letter from Maragam Williams, to Hon. Sir A. Campbell, President and Member of Board of Revenue dt. 11th May, 1788, p. 32 (Vol. 736, Current Committee to TNAM).

(c) Letter from Henry Crowford to Alexandar Davidson Esq., Chief and Council at Vizagapatam dt. 23.11.1790, pp. 255-256. (Vol. 737, Ganjam Factory Record Correspondence TNAM).

42. Ibid.

43. A short account of the Ganjam Famine 1866, p. 2 (with an introduction of previous femines) by an officer of the District. (1867-Ganjam).
44. A short account of the Ganjam Famine 1866, p. 2.
45. Ibid.
46. A short account of Ganjam Famine 1866, p. 3-5.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. India under the British Crown, 'The Orissa Famine' 1866-67, p. 83 by B. D. Basu, N. N. Ghose and P. N. Bose. (1933, London).
    (a) The Orissa Historical Journal, Vol. VI, Part I, 1957. 'The Orissa Famine of 1866, p. 69 by Prabhat Mukherjee.
50. The Annals of Indian Administration, Vol. I, Part I, 'The Administration of India 1865-66, Area and Population, p. 125 (A. S. O. A-85 TNA).
51. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I and II, pp. 299-79.
52. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, p. 299, Vol. I (1885-Madras).
53. A Short account of Ganjam Famine 1866, pp. 9-11 by an officer of the District (1867-Ganjam).
54. A Short account of the Ganjam Famine, pp. 11-12.
55. A Short account of the Ganjam Famine 1866, pp.14-15.
56. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
57. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
58. See statement of death in Zemindaries, Statement 'A'.
58a. A Short account of the Ganjam Famine 1866, p. 19.
59. The famine campaign in Southern India, Vol. I, 1876-78 (The famine in 1878), pp. 229-239 by William Digby (1878-London).
    (a) India under the British Crown, p. 176 by B. D. Basu.

(b) Report of the Administration of Madras Presidency for 1877-78, Sec. I, Ch. I, pp. 14-15.

60. Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during 1877-78, Vol. XIV, Ch. V, p. 37.

(a) Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency—Ganjam and Vizagapatam, pp. 9-12.

61. Administrative Report of the Madras Presidency during the year 1878-79, p. 279.

62. Report of the Famine in the Madras Presidency for the year 1896-97, Vol. II, Appendix I, Report of the Collector, p. 1.

(a) Board of Revenue Proceeding dt. 16. 7. 1890, No. 211 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

63. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dt. 15. 11. 1887, No. 448 (A.P S.A. Hyderabad).

(a) Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dt. 26. 10, 1887, No 404.

64. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, No. 449, p. 11. (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

65. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dated 28. 4. 1891, No. 251. (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

66. Resolution of the Board of Revenue dated 28th April, 1891, No. 250.

(a) Letter from E. C. Johnson, Collector, Ganjam to the Board of Revenue dt. 24. 11. 1891, No. 699 (APSA Hyd).

(b) Proceeding of the Board of Revenue for the month of June 1892, No. 435 dt. 14. 5. 1892.

67. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dated 24th October 1892, No. 699 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

(a) Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, dated 17th May, 1892, No. 367 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

68. Report of the Famine of 1891-92, p. 36 (A.S.O.B., 115, T.N.A.).

(a) Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, December, 1892, No. 97 (A.P.S.A., 148).

69. Board of Revenue proceeding dated 16.7.1890, No. 211 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

70. Report of the famine in the Madras Presidency for the year 1896-97, Vol. II, Appendix I. Report of the Collector, Ganjam, p. 1.

71. Report of the Indian Famine Commission 1898, Ch. V, p. 176 (O.S.A., p. III-1/1000).

72. Report of the Famine in the Madras Presidency for the year 1896-97, Vol. II, Appendix I. Report of the Collector, Ganjam, pp. 10-11 (A.S.O., B-120-TNA).

73. Report of the Famine in the Madras Presidency for the year 1896-97, Vol. II, Appendix I. Report of Ganjam Collector, p. 10-11 (A.S.O., B-120-TNA).

74. Minute of Evidence by H. D. Taylor to the Famine Commission, dt. 14.2.1898, p. 180 (Report of the Indian Famine Commission 1898).

75. Evidence of witness from the Madras Presidency taken before the Indian Famine Commission 1898. Mr. R. W. D. E. Ashe on 16.2.1898, pp. 80-82. (Report of the Indian Famine Commission-1898).

76. Report of the Famine in the Madras Presidency for the year 1896-97, Vol. I, pp. 22-37.

77. Written statement filed by H. D. Taylor, Collector, Ganjam to the Famine Commission, p. 180.

78. Report of the Indian Famine Commission, p. 180.

79. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue dated 26th October, No. 404, Vol. VI-1887.

80. Written statement filed by H. D. Taylor, Collector, Ganjam Dt. 14.2.1898, p. 181 (Report of the Indian Famine Commission 1898).

81. A Short account of Ganjam Famine 1866, pp. 20, 24.

82. Minute of Evidence by H. D. Taylor dated 14.2.1898, p. 178 (Report of the Indian Famine Commission).
83. Written statement by H. D. Taylor to the Famine Commission 1898, p. 184.
84. Ganjam Record of Proceedings, March, 1790, p. 101 (Letter to Hon. William Mesows, Esq. Governor in Council, Fort. St. George from the Chief to Government at Ganjam). (Vol. 700/19074 GDRTNAM).
85. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue September, 1891, No. 600 Administration Report for 1890-91, (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
86. Written statement by H. D. Taylor to the Famine Comission 1896, p. 184.
87 Selection from the Records of Ganjam Collectorate 1836. Index No. 44-1836 (Minute of Consultation dated 8th Nov. 1836, Board of Revenue), p. 29.
    (a) The Board of Revenue Consultations dated 15.10.1835, pp. 11836-11837 (Vol. 1471, Revenue Record, TNAM).
88. Annual report of the Madras Presidency during the year 1861-62, p. 159.
89. Administrative report of the Madras Presidency for the year 1878-79, p. 279 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
90. Report of the Famine in the Madras Presidency for the year 1896-97, Appendix I, 'Report of the Ganjam Collector', pp. 19-20.
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 25th October, 1892, (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).
91. Madras District Gazetteers, Ganjam, Vol. II, p. 3 (M.C. 150 T.N.A.).
    (a) Annals of Indian Administration in the year 1872-73, Vol. XVII, p. 75-76 (1874, London, T.N.A).

(b) Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput), pp. 55-56 by R. C. S. Bell.

92. A short account of the Ganjam Famine 1866 by An Officer of the District (1867 Ganjam).

93. Statistical Atlas of Madras Presidency, Ganjam, p. 11.

(a) The Board of Revenue Proceeding dated 16th July, 1890, No. 211 (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

4 THE ABORIGINALS

Kondhs

Under the Madras Presidency the agency area of Southern Orissa comprised the Ganjam and the Jeypore Maliahs or agencies. In area it extended over the whole of the Jeypore zemindary and 3500 square miles of the Ganjam district.[1] In Ganjam it included portions of the zemindaries of Surada, Ghumsur, Chinnakemedi, Pedakemedi and Parlakhemundi. In this Ganjam-Koraput maliah tract the chief inhabitants were the Kondhs and the Savaras. The former were found in the first four mentioned zemindaries of Ganjam and in the Jeypore zemindary of Vizagapatam. The Savaras were found in the Kimedi maliahs and in the north of the Jeypore zemindary. The Kondhs were also found in the tributary states of Orissa, viz. Boudh, Dasapalla, Nayagada, Angul and Kondhmal. In the western parts of Orissa they were found in parts of Kalahandi and on the south of Patna.[2]

In the southern tract of Orissa the Kondhs constituted an important section of the total population. Their history, special custom, religion and economic life during the nineteenth century were as important as the history of the zemindars of the tract. The geographical situation of the Kondh tract had determined their progress towards civiliza-

tion and exercised a considerable influence upon their language and economic life.[3] On account of this intercourse, their Dravidian origin and primitive practice had the Aryan influence. Constituted into a numerous tribe, they were divided into two classes or sects according to their religious practices. The sect that worshipped the Sun god, otherwise known as the 'Borapenu' were identified as Borakondhs. The adherents of the Earth goddess i.e. 'Taripenu' were classed as the Tarikondhs.[4] With the latter the practice of human sacrifice had gained much ground and was esteemed by them as a sacred rite during the nineteenth century.[5]

There were several sub-tribes in the Kondh community. The divisions were mainly on the basis of their habit and mode of life they led. Important of them were the Dongria Kondhs or the Jungle Kondhs, the Desia or the Benia Kondhs, the Kutia Kondhs and the Jatapu Kondhs.[6] With the Jungle Kondhs the primitive practices in the habit of their life were more common. The Benia Kondhs were on the foot of the ghats and were endowed with the commercial traits on account of their advantageous position. Their constant intercourse with the plain dwellers had an impact upon their socio-economic and religious life.[7] The Kutia Kondhs were common in the Jeypore and the Kalahandi tracts.[8] The Kondh language varied over all these places.

As a race the Kondhs were not superior in strength or stature to the men of the plains. Their costume consisted of a piece of cloth bound round the loins with ends hanging down like a tail. The Kondh community had no manufacture and their chief source of wants were met from the jungles. They cultivated the hill slopes, and the practice was known as the 'Podu' or 'Kumeri' or 'Bogodo' cultivation. It was shifting cultivation. Every year the plot of cultivation was changed from place to place. This mode of

cultivation was more favourite among the Kondhs from time immemorial.[9]

The Kondhs had a high sense of duty towards their community or group. In the Kondh society the elders were greatly respected. The whole community had regard for labour and they were proud of their position as land-holders. The Kondhs were neither lazy not overactive. In the Kondh community theft and dishonesty were rare offences. The community discouraged such practices and as punitive measure had imposed elimination of such convicted persons from the society. The Kondh idea of honesty had come from his sense of personal dignity.[10] The idea of being a salve was foreign to him and he entertained no lordship. This pride within himself made him to feel about human dignity. This was the basis of his attitude towards himself as well towards others. Unlike other aboriginals, the Kondhs led a pure life. Except drinking they had no other vices and this had been a necessity for them. Low food value in the diet they took and the extreme physical strain they endured compelled them to drink and this supply usually came from rice and salap.[11]

In many respects the Kondhs had a peculiar custom. After being engaged in war it was their custom, when they meet to conclude peace, to perform a war dance.[12] The womenfolk had exercised greater influence over men on these occasions.

The position of Kondh women in her society was no better then a slave. This, however, was not uniform throughout the Kondh tracts. Women freedom in the Kondh society was of different degrees in different localities. It was due to the local differences in social and economic standard. In the Chinakemedi tract, the Kondh women had no freedom. As a wife she was engaged as a servant and as a mistress of the house she had exercised no influence

over her husband. In some other parts the reverse had been asserted.[13]

The Kondh married woman had her right to quit her husband at any time. Thus freedom, however, was not enforced, when she was pregnant with child not more than one year old. In other ordinary times she could exercise this right. There was no bar in her entering into another's house in that capacity and become his mistress. This optional divorces were frequent in the infanticidal tracts. The position of such women as concubine was not safe and was considered by the Kondh society as disgraceful as other offences of crime.[14] Such practices among the Kondh women had imposed upon the Kondh society the institution of infanticide as a preventive socio-economic measure.[15] Also the Kondh society had widely accepted the practice of tattoo as a positive measure to prevent and discourage frequent matrimonial changes.

The trouble and serious consequences which arose out of frequent matrimonial changes were of economic and social considerations. There was economic consideration in marriage in the form of 'Seeds' which entitled the husband to claim repayment of that amount from his father-in-law, should his daughter as wife became unfaithfully to her husband. The amount the father-in-law had claimed from the new son-in-law.[16]

The Kondh women had absolute freedom in matters of their love. The Kondh society had regulated the practice of 'Pooranja' in order to avoid all the acts of violence by the husband either to the lover or to the beloved. A sense of discipline and tolerance were instituted in the claim of 'Pooranja' by the woman. It was a penalty consideration which the lover had to pay the woman to whom he had seduced. Payment of the 'Pooranja' amount was considered an adequate compensation to restore the modesty and chastity of the woman so claimed the amount.[17]

During the Nineteenth century economic problems formed the very core of the Kondh life. In fact, the entire fabric of thought and philosophy was one of survival. The fact that this tribe was driven into the interior of the hills was but for the comfortness of the plain dwellers. This tribe depended very little on the plains, except for salt and cloth. The geographical situation of the Kondh area was not a barrier to their association in the historical events of the tract. The zemindars interest and the administration of the East India Company's government were responsible to mobilise their physical force against the political unrest of the Southern Orissa during the period. Under the zemindars the Kondhs had enjoyed their social and religious right. The zemindars had granted some pecuniary concessions to them with the object to gain their services at the time of war and other necessities, and to prevent them of their free-quencies to the plains.[18] The East India Company govern-ment had encroached upon their socio-economic and religious rights. It was of this reason they rose in rebellion against the company to vindicate their rights. The Kondh population of the country in collusion with the native zemindars had contributed much to the political unrest of the tract. The Kondh energy and physical power were effectively channelised under the leadership of Chakro Bisoy and Dora Bisoy. These persons were noted for their valour and revolutionary organisations against the Company in the first fifty years of the century.[19]

Untill the period of Ghumsur war, 1836, the Kondhs had enjoyed every rights of their to the brim. The Govern-ment knew nothing of their ethnological experiences and social custom upto this time. The oriental interest of the western people in the agency brought a new history in the life of the Kondhs.[20] A new set of conditions were created by the local authority of the government with the object to make the tribe the agent of their own civilization. Efforts

were made to encourage education by the establishments of schools, agriculture by the distribution of seeds and implements and trade by means of bazzars and fairs.[21]

After the first four decades of the century the administration of the East India Company Government in the agency was on the basis of humanitarian principles. In first effort was concentrated in the socio-economic reformation of the Kondh society. The tribes were no longer left to suffer social segregation and economic deploration. With this background the government had enacted certain regulations to the walfare of the tribe. It took effective steps for the execution of those enactments, but their result upon the Kondh society was slow. The government had to encounter with the tribes because of the Kondhs prejudicial attitude to those measures. The success was attended only after a long time.[22]

The independent nature of the Kondhs did not bring any change in them which the government had intended. Their conservative outlook in religion, custom and social and economic aspects of their society rendered them poor and made them suffer for years to come. Very few were benefitted with the unrestrained intercourse between the agency and the plains. The weekly markets, which the government had instituted in order to provoke the Kondhs' commercial interest, was attended by a few Kondhs only. The number which had attended the weekly markets at different places of the plain in the year 1842 were as follows.[23]

Market	No. of Kondhs and other inhabitants of the hills who attended the market
1. Pandiakhol	500
2. Surada	200
3. Kulada	300
4. Beleguntha	150

Further, to encourage them the government had relinquished the collection of duties on them. Great care was taken to prevent all the unauthorised exactions on their journey to and from the markets.[24] Low commerce and manufacture was another cause that prevented the Kondhs to attend the markets.

The land rights of the Kondhs was an important issue during the nineteenth century. In the Kondhmals of Orissa the government was the sole landlord and there were no intermediate tenures. The land rights of the aboriginals, with which their village system was closely bound up were safe from encroachment. The position of the aboriginals over land in other parts of the country was different. In Chotnagpur and the Santal parganas it was complicated by the intrusion of the non-aboriginal landlords.[25] This was also a fact in southern parts of Orissa.

The Kumeri cultivation had produced a bad effect on the climate of the region and caused a heavy loss in the forest products. It grew in extent day by day. The government persuaded the Kondhs and other aborginals to refrain from the Kumeri cultivation. As an alternative measure the British government had concentrated to get lands for them in the plain areas. But this measure was late. Almost all the fertile lands of every description was occupied by the plain dwellers. The effort of the government to get the waste lands for these people was also failed. These were denied on the ground that such lands were needed for pasture.[26] In any manner the government could not acquire land for the Kondhs. The effort to stop the Podu cultivation was failed. The failure was partly due to the government's failure to bring the Karjis into their fold of reason, and partly due to its inefficiency. The plain dwellers had entertained a social stigma against the Kondhs. As such they had never permitted the Kondhs to cultivate the land either in the village limits or on the plains.[27] In

such a sphere the Kondhs were destined to suffer in the province of poverty, ignorance and inactivity.

Upto 1860, the British Government had made an annual settlement with the Kondhs in the collection of land revenue. The assessment on Kondhs' land was very nominal. The government had collected the revenue without an enquiry into the extent of cultivation. In 1860 a rough survey on land was made. Accordingly fruit trees were included in assessment. On this basis the assessment of the whole village was determined. This assessment was done on no fixed principles. The excessiveness of the assessment was felt and objected by the Kondh people. The government had explained[28] in the manner that 'the assessment was enhanced upon their consent'. This kind of assessment remained in force till 1883. In the year a fresh settlement brought an increase in the land revenue from the Kondhs by Rs. 320-7-3 Annas/Paise. The charges were made at the rate of Rs. 1-8-0 for wet land and Rs. 0-12-0 for dry land per acre. The total revenue amounted to Rs. 1,962-1-8. In the fresh settlement of 1883 fruit trees were not included. The result was that some villages which had no cultivated lands but only fruit tress escaped assessment altogether. This concession was little to enabte the Kondhs to gain much of the material benefits.

In the year 1885-86 the forest reservation commenced in the Moherry hills. The Kondhs were in usual habit to depend for their food on the forest products. As the reservation had curtailed their right to enjoy the jungle products they were compensated with the provision of 2½ acres of waste land each for cultivation. This was undoubtedly a bold measure of the government to put them in a more secure position. Other accessories of cultivation were not provided to them and that prevented the success of the plan. Further, the Kondhs habit of life was not changed and every benevolent measures to improve their socio-economic standard failed.[29]

The British government from humanitarian point of view and on the dictates of their own conscience and sense of obligation responded to the necessities of the Kondhs.[30] The bad weather, loss of fruit trees, restriction on Kumeri cultivation and absence of manufacture had tended to bring about an improverished condition in the life of the Kondhs. The economic hardship and the social backwardness of the Kondh tribe had pressed the government to consider a further reduction in the assessment of revenue on Kondh land.[31]

The Kondh economy had suffered much due to the intrigues of the 'Sowcars' and the 'Panos'. The Sowcars were the distillers[32] and usually supplied liquor to the Kondhs and lent them money. Usually they laid the conditions that affected the Kondhs material possessions, in case they (Kondhs) 'failed in repaying the money they borrowed from them. The conditions were to exchange the Kondh land. The Kondhs could not repay the amount and very often the Kondh lands were acquired by the sowcars. In 1871 the government had restricted these sowcars from the trade of liquor in the maliahs. They were neither allowed to sell not to distill liquor in the maliahs for the benefit of the Kondhs. Even the Kondhs were not permitted to sell liquor to their own men, but were allowed to distill for their own use.[33]

The policy of the British government in prohibiting the sowcars was a protective measures intended to elevate the Kondhs socially and economically. Their long subjection to the vice of drinking rendered them poor. The sowcars took every advantage upon this habit of the Kondhs. The protective measure of the government was not successful on account of smuggling of the article into the maliahs by the sowcars. The longing desire of the Kondhs to have it more had worsened their economic position. They borrowed more money from them for the purpose of buying the Aska

firm's liquor, which they consumed doubly than of their ordinary manufacture.[34]

The arrangement of the government in 1871 and 1873 with the Aská Firm of Messrs Minchina Brother and Co. was done as an alternative measure against the sowcars or the sundis. The company was contracted to supply liquor into the agency. The sundis or the sowcars were in no way affected with this measure. On the other hand they were more benefitted on the Kondhs longing desire to have the company liquor more, and for this they advanced more money. The distress was deepened in the extension of the contract with the company from more areas and to a term of years.[35]

In 1883 the government had realised the situation and gave up the plan of contract. In the said year licences were issued by public auction to distill and sell liquor in the maliahs. However, as a more appreciable preventive measure, the sowcars were not allowed to keep land in the maliahs. This was not sufficient. It only stopped the alienation of Kondh land. But lending of money was another source by which they could exact money from the Kondhs.[36]

The Kondhs lacked the traits of trade and commerce. They had depended upon the Panos for every act of business The Panos were their trade guides and had exercised a considerable influence over the Kondhs and were a burden on their economy.[37]

The causes of poverty with which the Kondhs suffered were many. Some of them were associated with their habits and social backwardness and other with their passiveness towards government. Their traditional village set up had contributed much to their sufferings.[38] The village heads or chiefs, otherwise known as the muthaheads had misutilised their position and privileges. Their autocratic authority had rendered the Kondhs to become poorer. The royal proclamation of 1864 had exempted the Kondhs on the hills

to pay any assessment on land. The Chokapad and the Pandiakhol Kondhs were exempted from this privilege. In lieu of land revenue the Kondhs was made certain payments to the Mutha and village heads and the subordinates. The payment which could be either of cash or kind, became a 'mamool' in course of time. The amount and size became too heavy.[39] The payment of 'Mamool' varied from place to place and tribe to tribe.

The payment of Mamool was an obligatory practice. But by the end of the century this became a right of the village officers and they took the help of revenue authorities for the recovery of this Mamool payment. It was even enforced under the courts of law. The 'Mamool' or the 'Vetty' was considered a means by which the state was compensated for the loss of land revenue which was not collected from the Kondhs. But this construction was wrong, the Kondhs paid land revenue which, however, was at a law rate.[40]

The compulsory labour which the aborigines had rendered to the executive heads of the revenue department had greatly aggravated their economic standard. The Kondhs rendered 27 days service to government on 'Vetty' work, work without payment. The days of work were distributed as follows : on road repairing works 10 days, on government building works 5 days, and to follow the executives on tours, otherwise known as Bhar Vetty 12 days. Hardly the Kondhs found time to work on their field. The government works which required their labour on payment was another source of misery to the Kondh population. Owing to their numerical incapacity, they were paid far below the normal amount.[41] The widows and the sick were exempted from compulsory or vetty labour.

The vetty work on government services had some ill consequences upon the Kondh society. Such engagement of the Kondh population did not encourage to the formation

of a regular labour class. Their aspirations and capacities were misdirected and moreover they were denied and deprived of the opportunity for their own improvement.[42]

During the nineteenth century the risings of Kondhs in different times, against the administration of the East India Company and the British government were due to political as well as of administrative reasons. The administration of agent over the maliah tracts under Acts of XXIV of 1839 and of XXI of 1845, upto May 1862, was met with several oppositions and risings. These risings had political and religious backgrounds. The Kondhs wanted their unimpeached freedom over the performance of the meriah sacrifice. It was against the interests of meriah agency as well as of the government. The Kondhs bitterness was further strengthened with the introduction of the police system in the maliahs of Ghumsur in 1852. They rose in rebellion in 1853, 1855 and in 1857. These rising were confined only to certain localities and did not spread over the agency tracts widely. Still these were sufficient to demonstrate their attitude towards the works of meriah agency.[43]

In 1862 the meriah agency was abolished and the police system was introduced in the agency tracts. This added much to the discontentment of the Kondhs in large. It was partly from their dislike to confine their conduct to any sort of rules and partly from the corrupt administration of the police.[44] In the following year i.e. 1863 the agency tracts, except, Ghumsur and Surada agency areas came under the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts.[45]

In 1864 certain proceeding of a police Inspector brought on a petty insurrection among the Savaras. The insurrection was suppressed momentarily with the help of Ganjam Police.[46] But soon it was followed by the Kutia rising in 1865 November. The Kutia rising was originated in the Jeypore country. Many Kondh villages of the agency tract joined the movement. The movement was suppressed.[47]

The affair continued till 1880 in different forms and names. The rising of 1877 was known as the 'Cottigodo rising'. The causes of this rising apart from the causes of police indiscipline in administration, were due to the government's compulsion to the aboriginals to render vetty work on cultivating season and a change in the Abakari system in former years[48] i.e. in 1871 and 1873. The rising was not successful, because the Kondhs proved too inferior in organisation, poor in stock and lacked a good strategy.

In 1879 the Rampa or Fitoory conspiracy broke in the Godavari district. It spread into the zemindary of Jeypore early in 1880. In the Malkangiri the rising derived its force from the ill treatment of police and extraction by the officials of the native Raja. The situation was aggravated with the bad behaviour of the money lenders. The rebels invited Taman Dora a prominent leader of the Rampa rebellion. The movement was about to attain a greater height in the maliah tract of Southern Orissa. But its course was obstructed effectively by the government and the entire movement lost its force by the end of 1880. The rising had a great impact upon the policy of the government towards the aborginals and a change in the policy became a necessity. There was a change.[49] The change was chiefly felt in matters of abakari system and nothing on their economy.

The Savaras

Next to the Kondhs, the Savaras or Sauras or the Savaries constituted an important section of the aboriginals of Southern Orissa. In the Ganjam-Koraput maliah tract they were found in the Kimedi hills. The Saura or Savara part of the Ganjam district was divided into a number of zemindars and maliahs. These were further divided into certain muthas in the early years of nineteenth century.

These muthas were put in the charge of feudal overlords called Patros or Bissoyis. The important muthas were those of Serango, Gumma, Ajayagad in the Parlakhemundi maliahs, the Chandragiri mutha of the Chinnakimedy zemindary and the Ramagiri, Udayagiri, Khajuripada and Keradang muthas of the Peddakimedy zemindary. In the Koraput district, which is more or less coterminous with the old Jeypore zemindary, there were no overlords or landlords in the Saura or Savara area. The Savara tract further extended into the south as far as Godavari hills upto Bhadrachalam.[50] Among the tributary mahals of Orissa, they were found in Keonjhar. Here they were considered as an isolated group of the original community and were known as Bendakars.[51]

The Savaras of Ganjam-Koraput maliahs were an important section of Kolarian tribe.[52] Originally the Savara community was divided into six major divisions, viz. Sadda, Sonnapaniya, Mela, Lodoro, Jarah and Lambolangia. The two latter divisions were common in the Kimedi and Vizagpatam hills, and were known as the Savaras of the Kalinga division.[53]

In course of time, the Savaras of the tract were divided into two main bodies, and this division was according to the nature of their place of inhabitat. In the south, those who remained at the foot of the hills, more open to the plains, were identified as Kapu Savaras by the Telegu people. In the Kimedi area such people were known as Godea Savaras. The Savaras in the hills were known as Konda Savaras or Hill Savaras. The Godea Savaras were in subjection to the Raja of Parlakhemundi.[54] The Kapu Savaras were found in the Gunupur and Palkunda area. The former was under Jeypore zemindary. The Kapu Savaras by their geographical situation were more influenced by the Telegu society. The Godeas had little in common with the Oriyas of the tract. The social intercourse of these people with the

plain dwellers brought them to a more advantageous position, which the hill people did not enjoy. Socially and economically these people were in a better position than of the Savaras in the hills.[55]

The life the Savaras led in the hills was extremely hard, savage and wild. These people were clad poorly. They dwelt in small societies amidst the impenetrable woods and mountains. The group did not exceed to four or five families. This was due to their utmost regard to individual freedom. The Savara community on account of their un-bounded independentness had no village polity.[56] In their Social and Political life they attached much importance to precedence. There was no caste distinction among them. They recognised no distinction in ranks. They only res-pected their elders and the priests.[57] There were four different kinds of male priests. They were the Buyya, the Kuranamaran, the Idaimaran and the Siggamaran. Of these the place of the Buyya priest was of greater social and political importance in the Savara villages of Ganjam. As a official priest of the villages, he was in close contact with the people in their day to day affairs.[58]

In the Savara society individual freedom was the basis of living. Both men and women had enjoyed the right and shared equally in common to homely life. The community believed in the immortality of human soul and burn their dead.[59] As a race it endured hard work and had shown extreme love to decorate themselves with peacock feathers and different ornaments made of brass and bell-metal. The community enjoyed folk dance on festive and marriage occasions.[60]

The social and religious life of the Savaras was different to that of their neighbour Dravidian tribes, especially the Kondhs. The religion of the Savaras was Demonclatry. The race had no Gods, but goddesses. The community worshipped female divinity. Their goddesses were three in

number viz. Joolva, Gangy and Jommo. To these goddesses they usually sacrificed goats, pigs and fouls respectively. Besides, they made annual sacrifices to the spiritis of their deceased relations. They believed that a neglect in this sacrifice would occasion to suffering from sickness and an attack by wild beasts.[61] The community did not perform the rite of human sacrifice.[62]

Women in the Savara society had enjoyed a good status and also exercised a considerable influence over their husbands. Unlike the Kondh women, they were never subjected to any humiliation. The Savara women were immuned from any attack and injury when the community was in fued. The women in such occasion took a responsible service. The Savara women joined the fight in order to protect and serve their own men in the fight. The community regarded their opinion as a source of information before it could reach and judge any decision in matters of utmost social importance. In fact the Savara women had exercised so much of influence over men that the latter did not do any work without the consent of the former. The Savaras extreme love and loyalty to their women folk had kept them aback, with certain exceptions to a few, to associate themselves in the political unrest of the country, except once in 1865-66.[63]

The Savara social custom had rendered some facilities to women by which they were at par with men. Polygamy was common in the Savara society. Widow remarriage was a practice among them. It was regulated with certain conditions. Usually, the younger brother married the widow of the older brother, provided she had no children and was younger to him, otherwise it was not accepted.[64] If there were no younger brothers, she could marry a son of an elder brother, who should be elder than her in age. In case she married to some one else, she had to pay compensation to her deceased husband's brother.[65] The marriage ceremonies

of the Savara society were very simple. These had neither social nor economic considerations and were never a burden upon the society.[66] The practice of divorce was also simple and this right was open to both men and women. But it was discouraged widely by the Savara society. Generally divorce was effected on the payment of compensation by the new husband to the former one. Failure in the payment resulted in the death of the new husband. Divorce in the Savara society usually came from woman's side. A Savara man could divorce his wife on charges of adultery which was rare.[67]

In the Savara society women were freely allowed to devote their life in religious interests. They could become a 'Shamanin' i.e. Woman Priest by conversion as men to 'Shaman'. A Savara woman's conversion into a life of Shamanin was one of social setting. She could enjoy her homely life and did not suffer seclusion. Her relation and conduct towards her home and society were regulated in a higher standard.[68]

For these reasons the practice of infanticide was unknown to them.[69] And the practice of 'tattoo' among the Savaras was a matter of tradition and pride. Both men and women had dots in their cheeks and on the point of the chin.[70]

The causes of poverty with which the Savaras suffered were many. Some of them were rooted in their habit of life and mode of living. Cultivation of rice in an improved manner was unknown to them. The Kumeri cultivation enabled them only to reap the produces for their own consumption and these had no markets. Their trade on fuel-wood was burdened with taxes, and this was not a business of benefit to improve their material standard.[71] Further, the Savaras were not free from the extraction of the Sowcars.[72]

The Savaras outlook towards their life was more responsible to keep the whole community socially and economically backward. In the social set up the elders of the family were

respected and had the privilege to decide any dispute of the community. This had greatly helped them to maintain their social independentness, and helped the community to maintain their soċial segregation from other communities and tribes on the hills.[73] The race did not allow any change in their habit was partly due to their conservative outlook and mostly due to less administrative effects. There were no schools. no missions, and no roads in the Savara villages. The government officials kept away as much as they could.[74] During the century social intercourse with the community was totally absent.

The economic deploration of the race had its deep root in the social segregation with which the race suffered during the nineteenth century. The people had little wants, had no manufacture of their own, except cloth. They wove their own cloth with the help of the Doms. Very little they had depended upon the plains. Most of their living necessities came from the jungle products,[75] In cases of extreme necessities, they entered the near by towns and plundered all the eatble edibles of the people.[76] It was for this reason the Bissoyis and Patros had maintained forts and small armies called Paiks to check the Savaras of their frequent raids on the towns and villages of the low country.[77] Apart from hunting, their trade on firewood was on low volume.[78]

The most pleasing feature of the race was its love for truth. As a body the race was ignorant and harmless, but well known for its galour and acts of daringness. In the political unrest of the country, the Kapu and the Godea Savaras had contributed much. One Godeapalli Lutchena, an illiterate Savara was a man of insatiable ambition. His able leadership and militant organisations aspired other rebellions of the country to associate with him for a common cause against the administration of the East India Company

government in the early years of the nineteenth century.[79]

A general movement of the aboriginals in 1865-66 against the British government was due to the introduction of the police system in the maliahs. Behind the rising of the Savaras worked the attitude of their being independent of all control. The introduction of police system was viewed by them as an encroachment upon their freedom and rights. The spirit of challenge prevailed throughout the maliah tract. A conciliatory measure of the government restored peace.[80]

The Savaras association with the political events of the tract was comparatively less to that of the Kondhs. The government of the company came in contact with the tribe in 1851, on the banks of Vamsdhara river. Until this period the government knew nothing about the social, religious and other aspects of the tribe, as it knew much about the Kondhs of the tract.[81] Due to this difference of contact the tribes of the tract were affected differently with the administration of the British Government. In fact, the administration of the government did not affect the Savaras in the same degree as it did to the Kondhs.[82] As a result of this the Savaras had retained their originality unaffected in language, social custom, religion and economic independentness and survived as an independent entity in Southern Orissa[83] till to-day.

REFERENCES

1. Standing information of the administration of the Madras Presidency, 1893, pp. 56-59.

2. Report of the administration of the Madras Presidency during 1875-76, Part II, Chapter I, p. 41.

   (a) Stastical Atlas of Madras Presidency, p. 1.

   (b) Castes and Tribes in Southern India by Thurston, Vol. III, pp. 357-358 and Vol. VI, p. 304.

   (c) The Kondhas of Koraput by Dr. K. C. Jana. (The Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, April, 1962), p. 57.

   (d) Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Group VIII, Sector 4 by Edward Twite Dalton, p. 515, 'India Studies', New Delhi, 1974.

   (e) Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 10, p. 70, 9th edn., Edinburgh.

   (f) A Report on the mamods in Ganjam agency by J. N. Mohanty O.A.S., Special Officer, 1952, Govt. of Orissa.

3. Report of Captain Macpherson dated 24.4.1842 (Report of the Meriah Agents), p. 10.

4. The Administration of the East India Company by J. W. Kaye, p. 497, Allahabad, 1966.

5. The Ethonological Report of the Madras Presidency by T. G. Frazer, p. 51.

   (a) The Religion of the Kui Kondhs (Their Custom and Folklore) by F. V. P. Schulzie, p. 1, 1912.

6. The Kondhas of Koraput by Dr. K. C. Jana (The Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, April, 1962), pp. 57-58.

   (a) Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal by E. T. Dalton, p. 523.

(b) The tribes and castes of the Central Provinces of India by R. V. Russell & Raibahadur Hiralal, p. 465.

7. Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. 1, p. 73, Madras, 1886.

(a) The living races of mankind by Dr. A. H. Keane, Ch. X, p. 259.

(b) Selection from the Records of the Bengal Government (Topographical report on the political districts of Raigurh, Sarungarah, Senepur and Sambalpur by J. Schortt, Asst. Sugeon, Madras Medical Establishment, 1855, pp. 176-177 (O.S.A-R. III-1/1054).

8. Standing information on the administration of the Madras Presidency, 1893, pp. 59-60.

9. Letter from Lt. Col. J. Campbell, C.B. Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Russelkonda 17th March, 1849 (Report of the Meriah agents), p. 34.

(a) Letter from J. G. D. Partidge, I.C.S., Agent Principal Assistant Collector, Ganjam, No. 186 dated 13.1.1894 to the Senior Assistant Collector, Ganjam, Berhampur (RDC 76/Rev.)

(b) From G. D. Elphinstone, Special Assistant Agent, dated 23.12.1893, Russelkonda, to the Senior Assistant Agent (Manuscript No. RDC 67/94 Rev.) Sub-Collector Berhampur record.

10. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal by E. T. Dalton, New Delhi, 1974, p. 524.

11. The Kondhs of Koraput by Dr. K. C. Jena (The Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, April 1962), pp. 58-59.

12. Letter from Asst. Surgeon J. Cadenhead, Acting Principal Assistant Agent to the Acting Agent to the Governor of Ganjam, Dt. Gopalpur, 17th March, 1845. (R.M.A.), p. 18.

13. Letter from Col. J. Campbell, C.B. Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Dt. Russelkonda, 17th March, 1843, (R.M.A.), p. 34.

14. Report of Capt. Macpherson, Principal Assistant to the Agent to the Government in Ganjam, dated 24th April, 1842, (RMA), pp. 11-12.

15. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XIII, p. 3, 9th ed., 1875-89, (Edinburgh).

    (a) Indian infanticide, (Its origin, progress and suppression) by John Cave Brown, p. 209, 1857.

16. Report of Captain Macpherson, Principal Assistant to the Agent to the Government in Ganjam, dated 24th April, 1842, (R.M.A.), pp. 11-12.

    (a) Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal by E. T. Dalton, p. 54, Group VIII, Sec. 4.

17. Ibid.

    (a) Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. III, pp. 366-367.

18. Letter from Capt. J. Campbell, to G. E. Russell, dated 8th February, 1837, (Index No. 53, p. 1837. Selection from the Records of Ganjam Collectorate, 1837), pp. 53-54.

    (a) Report of Capt. Macpherson, dated 24th April, 1842, (R.M.A.), p. 10.

19. Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Chapter—'Special Agencies', pp. 71-72, 1886, Madras.

(a) The administration of the East India Company by J. W. Kaye, p. 448, 1966, Allahabad.

20. Report on the disturbances in the zemindary of Ghumsur by G. E. Russell to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort. St. George on dated 12. 8. 1836, First report, p. 59.

(a) Report of J. Campbell, Assistant Collector, to the Acting Collector, Ganjam dated Nowgam 17th January 1838 (R.M.A.), p 3.

(b) Orissa District Gazetteer (Koraput) by R. C. Bell, p. 37.

(c) Orissa District Gazetteer (Koraput) by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, p. 314, (1966).

(d) Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, pp. 150-151.

(e) The religion of an Indian tribe, Preface by Verrter Elwin, pp. 1-11, 1955, London.

21. Modern India and the West by I. S. S. O. Malley, pp. 728-729.

22. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 72.

(a) Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, pp. 6-7.

(b) Descriptive athnology of Bengal by E.T. Dalton, pp. 516-520.

23. Report of Capt. J. Campbell, 1843, (R.M.A), p. 7.

24. Ibid.

25. Modern India and the West by L. S. S. O. Malley, p. 730.

26. Letter from the Tahasildar, Berhampur to the Senior Asst. Collector, Berhampur, dated 14.9.1899 (RDC. No. 539/99 Manuscript record, Sub-Collector, Berhampur Record Room).

27. Letter from C.E. C. Fischar, Esq., Agriculture District

Officer to the Senior Assistant Collector, Berhampur, Dt. Balliguda, 11th August, 1899, (Manuscript No. 1070/99 Dis. Manuscript-Sub-Collector, Berhampur Record).

28. Letter from E. C. Johnson, Esq., Collector, Ganjam, to the Secretary to the Commissioner of Land Revenue, Dt. Chatrapur, 13th July, 1892, (RDC No. 415-Manuscript No. 67/Rev. 94 Sub-Collector, Berhampur Record).
29. Letter from E. C. Johnson, Esq., Collector, Ganjam, to the Secretary to the Commissioner of Land Revenue, dated Chatrapur, 13th July, 1892, (RC. No. 415, Manuscript No. RDS 67/Rev. 94, Sub-Collector, Berhampur Record Room).
30. Modern India and the West by L. S. S. O. Malley, p. 731.
31. Resolution of the Board of Revenue dated 7.12.1892, No. 777.
32. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal by Edward Twite Dalton, pp. 529-530.
33. Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, pp. 40-41.
34. Ibid.
35. Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, pp. 40-41.
    (a) Annual Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency during the year 1875-76, p. 17.
    (b) Annual Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency during the year 1880-81, Chapter I, Sect. II, p. 20.
36. Ibid.
37. Report of Lt. Col. J. Campbell, to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, dated 15.1.1839, p. 7 (R.M.A).
    (a) Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal by Edward Twite Dalton, p. 529.

38. Report of Capt. Macpherson dated 24.4.1842 (RMA), p. 14.
39. Report of the Administration Enquiry Committee by Udayanath Patnaik, Vol. I, pp. 12-14.
40. A Report on the Mameels in the Ganjam Agency by J. N. Mohanty, Govt. of Orissa, Special Officer, 1952, p. 1.
    (a) Annual report of the administration of the Madras Presidency for the year 1880-81, Section I, Chapter I, p. 9 and Section II, Chapter I, p. 20.
41. Report of the administration Enquiry Committee by Udayanath Patnaik, Vol. I, pp. 12-14.
42. A report on the Mameels in the Ganjam Agency-1947 by Udayanath Patnaik, Special Officer, Vol. I, p. 23.
    (a) Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, p. 20.
43. Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, p. 16.
    (a) Report of A. C. MacNeill, dated 22nd August, 1860, (R.M.A), p. 77.
    (b) The Administration of the East India Company by J. W. Kaye, pp. 517-518.
44. Report of the administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1875-76, 'General & Political', Part II, Ch. I, p. 43.
45. Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 74.
46. Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 69 and Vol. II, Appendix XII, p. 78.
    (a) Orissa District Gazetteer (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, p. 69.
    (b) The Aristocracy of Southern India by A. Vedivelu, p. 73.

47. As in 45.
48. Annual report on the administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1875-76, 'General & Political', p. 7 and (a) ibid, during the year 1879-80, pp. 7-14.
49. Report of the administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1880-81, Section II, Chapter I, pp. 10-12.
    - (a) Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, p. 20.
    - (b) Manual of the administration of Madras Presidency, Vol. II, Appendix III, p. 78, 1886, Madras.
50. Report of Mr. M. Oram on the Parlakhemundi zemindary, p. 199, (Circuit Committee Record, Vol. 18-B-18/17854, T.N.A.M).
    - (a) Daru Devata by Dr. Benimadhab Padhy, Ch. III, pp. 29-79, Cuttack, 1964.
    - (b) Saura English Dictionary by G. V. Rammurty, Preface, p. XIV.
    - (c) Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 10, p. 70 (9th edn., Edinburgh) and Vol. 5, 5th, p. 243.
    - (d) The religion of an Indian Tribe by Verreer Elurn, pp. 34-35, 1955, Oxford University Press, London.
    - (e) A report on the mameels in Ganjam Agency by J. N. Mohanty, O. A. S. Special Officer, Govt. of Orissa, p. 3.
51. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Group VI, Section 3 by E. T. Dalton, p. 331.
    - (a) Standing information regarding administration of Madras Presidency by S. S. Iyenger, p. 56.
52. The Living Races of Mankind by Dr. A. H. Keane, Vol. I, Ch. X, p. 259.

53. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 109, 1886, Madras.
   (a) Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, p. 70, 1945, Govt. of Orissa.

54. Report of Mr. M. Oram on Parlakhemundi Zemindary, p. 199 (18-B.T.N.A.).
   (a) Annual report of the Administration of Madras Presidency during the year 1898-99, Ch. I, p. 9.
   (b) The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, Preface, 1955, London, p. XIV.

55. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, Govt. of Orissa, p. 71, 1945.

56. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 109, 1886, Madras.

57. Report of Mr. M. Oram on Parlakhemundi zemindary, pp. 199-200, (Vol. 18-B.T.N.A.M).

58. The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, 1955, London, p. 130.

59. Orissa District Gazeetters (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, p. 71.

60. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal by E. T. Dalton, Group VI, Section 3, p. 389.
   (a) The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, 1955, Oxford Univ. Press, London, p. 44.
   (b) Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 88.

61. Report of Mr Oram on Parlakhemundi, p. 200 (Vol. 18-B-T.N.A.M).

62. As in 59.
   (a) Report of Capt. J. Campbell dated 10.4.1852 (RMA), p. 42.
   (b) The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, 1st edn., 1955, London, p. 117.

63. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 109.

64. Report of Mr. M. Oram on Parlakhemundi zemindary, p. 200 (Vol. 18-B.T.N.A.M).
   (a) Castes and Tribes of Southern India, by E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, p. 321, (1909, Govt. of Madras).
65. The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, p. 45, 1955, London.
66. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal by E. T. Dalton, p. 331.
67. The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, p. 56, 1955, London.
68. Ibid, pp. 162-167.
69. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, p. 70
   (a) Report of Capt. J. Campbell dated 10th April, 1852, (R.M.A), p. 42.
70. The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, p. 45.
71. Letter from H. V. Travers, Secretary, Fort St. George, to Mr. Peter Cherry, Collector of the 3rd division of Vizagpatnam district, dated 15th Oct. 1800, pp. 27-31. (Vol. 780, T. N. A. M. Ganjam Dist. Record, General Correspondence).
72. As in 69.
73. Report of Mr. Oram on Parlakhemundi Zemindary, pp. 200-201 (18-B.T.N.A.M.).
74. The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, p. 37 (1955, Oxford University Press).
75. Report of Mr. Oram on Parlakhemundi Zemindary, pp. 200-201 (18-B.T.N.A.M).
76. (a) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol I, p. 109.
   (b) The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, p. 43.
76. Minute of the President, J. Adam, dt. 15.10.1835, pp. 117833-37 (Board of Revenue Consultation, 1835, Vol. No. 1471/15677, T.N.A.M).

(a) Orissa Dist. Gazetteres (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, p. 69.

77. The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, pp. 35-6.

78. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. V, p. 243 (9th edn., Edinburgh).

   (a) Letter from E. V. Travers, Secretary, Fort. St. George to Mr. Peter Cherry, Collector of the 3rd division of Vizagapatam district, dated 15-10-1800, (Vol. 780, Ganjam District Record), pp. 27-31.

79. Letter from Haugh Spottiswood, Collector, Ganjam to the Chief Secretary to Govt. at Fort. St. George, dated 25.1.1817, (Vol. 756, Ganjam District Record, T.N.A.M.), pp. 52-55.

   (a) General Proclamation, dated 27-1-1817, p. 65, (Vol. 756, TNAM).

   (b) Ganjam Manual, by T. J. Maltby, pp. 143-145.

80. Annual report on the administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1865-66, Section III, Judicial, p. 15. (Vol. A.S.O., p. 188) T.N.A.L.

   (a) Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 158.

81. Report of Lt. Col. J. Campbell.

82. C. B. Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, dated 10.4.1852, No. 101, pp 41-42 (R.M.A).

   (a) The Religion of an Indian Tribe by V. Elwin, Preface, p. 1.

83. Annual Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1875-76, p. 17 and 1880-81, Sec. II, Ch. I, p. 20.

84. Modern India and the West by L. S. S. O. Malley, pp. 435-436.

   (a) Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal by E. T. Dalton, p. 331.

5 *PROGRESS OF EDUCATION*

Period of Problems

The East India Company had taken steps to spread Education in India as early as 1659. The Primary object was to spread Christianity.[1] The first batch of educators were the Missionaries and they were encouraged by the Court of Directors in all possible ways. In 1698 more encouragement was offered to these Missionaries by a charter. The Missionaries in India concerned more in the spread of message of Christ and had little interest in general education.[2]

The Missionaries adopted an enthusiastic attitude to spread the teachings of Christ.[3] This aroused a visible displesure among the Indians and the East India Company not like to deepen the discontentment at that stage of the administration in India. Therefore, they restricted the Missionaries into the East India Company's territory.[4]

However, the question of spreading education in India did not lose sight of. The officers of the Company realised the necessity of education from another vital point of view. Crime in India was common. They thought that the wave of crimes could be reduced only by educating the common Indians. To minimise crimes 'one and all said that the only

certain remedy, to which they look for an abiding cure, was that great remedial agent – Education'.[5]

There were individual cases of efforts being made to impart education in India. The privileged classes, such as the Brahmins and merchants made their own arrangement to receive education. In exceptional cases it extended to other classes, such as the Potails, the principal ryots and men of influence. With exceptions to few women of Hindu Brahmins; in general it was unknown to women of other low classes. Women were prohibited of the knowledge, because of attainment of such knowledge they would become 'unbecoming of the modesty of the sex'.[6] In the year 1822-23 the government of Madras made an enquiry into the state of native education in the Presidency.[7] The Collectors were called to report as to the state of native education within their jurisdiction. They were cautioned against exciting any fear in the people. It was the intention of the government to improve the native institutions, and as such, was determined to induce the people to go along with the government with understanding.[8]

According to the reports of the Collectors, it was revealed that the native educational institution were not in a good condition. In most part, the schools in the country side were supported by the payment of the people who sent their children for education. The rate of payment for each scholar varied from one anna to four rupees per mensem. The payment was determined according to the circumstances and capacity of the man to pay. Poor people paid in between four annas to half a rupee.[9]

In Ganjam the rate of payment varied from four annas to one rupee. The teachers were the 'Sastris' who usually taught privately. The statement of the Collector regarding the number of schools and other conditions of the native school was an incomplete one for it did not include any

information about the schools under the hill zemindars. There was no information about the Jeypore zemindary. Even then it was reported that the district Ganjam had .225 native schools. These were attended by Brahmin, Vayasee, Muslim and Suder pupils. They numbered as under in the Southern Orissa then.[10]

	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*
Brahmins	808	nil	808
Vayasee	243	nil	243
Suders	1001	2	1003
Muslims	27	nil	27
Others	886	10	896
			2977

Population of Ganjam excluding hill tracts :

Male	1,96,170
Female	17,911
Total Population	2,14,081

In the entire presidency there were 12,498 such native schools and the population was 12,850,941. On this basis the proportion of school to population was 1:1000. But as the females were excluded from it, it was presumed on 1:500. Of this population those who received education were 1,88,0[illegible]0 or every 1 member in 67 persons.[11] In general, in the entire Presidency education was in a low state. Very few pupil attended the native schools for education. Educational institutions were not properly encouraged. These depended more upon the contribution of the people. The people were not in a better condition and they suffered in misery and poverty.[12]

To surmount these difficulties the government thought of opening Collectorate and Tehasildary schools throughout the presidency on an average to extent and population

considerations. Accordingly it proposed to open 2 superior or collectorate schools and fifteen tehasildary schools for each of the Collectorate. The salary of the teachers of Collectorate schools and Tehasildary schools was fixed at Rs. 15/- and Rs. 9/- per month respectively. Apart from this amount the teachers were allowed the privilege to receive their usual fees from the scholars. As a policy government had conceded free accessment of every pupil to their schools irrespective of sex, religion and caste.[13]

According to the proposal of the Madras government in the presidency there would have been 40 Collectorate and 300 Tehasildary schools. But this was not achieved, and the proposal was delayed in administrative action. Only 70 Tehasildary schools were opened, out of which 61 were located in the interiors of the presidency and 9 at the presidency.[14] The Collectorate schools which were designed to higher education were few. These schools were looked as sources to get teachers for the Tehasildary schools. The Tehasildary schools were required to impart education in the native language. As the intention was to develop native education, preference was given to men of noble birth, and were choosen as teachers for the Tehasildary schools. Mr. Robert Bayard the Collector of Ganjam had selected two Telegu Brahmins and one Oriya noble man as teachers for the schools at Itchapur, Chicacole and Berhampur.[15] The two former schools were Telegu schools and the latter one was an Oriya school.

In these three Tehasildary schools of Ganjam, there were 154, 258 and 276 students respectively on rolls on 1st July 1834. By this time 584 students had already left the schools being educated. The annual expenditure of the government in each school was Rs. 108/-.[16]

While this was the state of education in Ganjam, in a part of the Southern Orissa, Koraput-Jeypore, there was no such school. The reason might be due to the inaccessible

nature of the region which the government did not try to come up until 1860. It was for this reason Koraput-Jeypore did lag much behind in education, while her neighbouring district: had all the advantage of being taken into the implementation of every scheme of the government.

The small number of schools were not sufficient to meet the increasing demand of the people for education. Often complaints were made by the parents that attention was not paid by the master properly to all the students. The government was not free from criticism made by the people as to the eligibility of all classes of castes to derive benefit out of these schools. In this situation most of the people had preferred private schools as an alternative to those of the government. The collector reported that there were not less than 150 such private schools in the district of Ganjam.[17]

The object with which the Tehasildary and Provincial schools were established, was not achieved. Till 1836 the system of imparting education to the natives was a failure. The real cause of the failure was that the persons selected as teachers were generally the refugees on the Collector's list. These who could obtain nothing were taken for the teaching profession.[18]

Moreover, the government had no definite policy and decision regarding the future of Indian Education. There was no specific direction regarding the European method of learning. Under such a situation little progress was made in the enlightenment of the natives.[19]

Without a good school for natives under a properly qualified teachers little could be done and expected from all in the cause of native education. So the Board at Madras recommended the organisation of two presidency schools or colleges. One of it was intended for the purpose of preparing teachers for the provincial schools, and the other was

intended to impart higher education in English language, European literature and Science.[20]

A change in the system of native education was thought of by the government at this period. There were no adequate schools to impart instructions and educate masters for the Tehasildary Schools. As an alternative to meet the immediate demand the native schools were looked upon. These native schools imparted instructions only in their native tongue. English was included in the instructions of native schools. The object was to exclude persons from the teachership those who had not received elementary instructions in either language. This policy of the government resulted in the establishment of several schools at the presidency under European supervision. Two kinds of native schools came into existence. There were schools either managed by the government or by private bodies. The native schools under the government could not compete with the schools managed by the private bodies. Implementation of policy in the former was delayed by administrative set up.[21]

In the year 1836 the Board of Instructions was superseded by the Committee for native Education. Upto this period the educational operation of the Madras Government was confined to the maintenance of the Collectorate and Tehasildary schools. These latter were institutions of elementary character.[22]

During the period of the Committee for native education i.e. from 1835 to 1845, no progress was made in education. In the year 1845 the Council of Education was instituted in place of the Committee for native Education. The Council of Education existed for three years only. During its short period, the Council had suggested some measures for the qualitative improvement of Education. It suggested the government to establish government institutions in the provinces. The instructions it suggested were to include

English, Arithmatics, Elementary Geography and History with any one of the vernaculars. For the English classes it proposed the inclusion of the 'Bible'.[23] One of the worthy suggestions of the council was the establishment of local committess. The Local Committee was to become the centre of educational interest of the area. It was supposed to look after the institutions as well as to serve in the cause of the native education. Were these established the cause of native education would have been more successful in the local interest as well of the government. Among the proposals for the establishment of nine provincial schools, Chicacole in Ganjam then was considered as a suitable place to have one such school. The government did not fail to avail the merit of the suggestions.

The Council of Education did not carry out any practical work for its brief period. It organised, superintendent and conducted certain examinations for appointments in public offices. This work was only confined to the presidency town. A year before its dissolution and a year after its creation, the subject of education was attended with great care and consideration. Yet the government did not evolve any sound and enlightened principle. This uncertainity did not give any wide field both to the native and the European schools for their own development.[24]

In Southern Orissa, a visible change in Education was felt after 1845. In 1848 Sir Henry Pottinger succeeded to the high situation of Education Department, and had laid great stress on the establishment of a normal school and eight provincial schools. In the year 1851 six schools were established in the hill tracts of Ganjam for the education of the Kondhs. These were established by Captain Mac Viccar. The schools were distributed in the following manner Two in Ghumsur, one at Chinnakemedi, one at Kurmingia, one at Udayagiri and one at Mahasingi.[25] At this time a more opposition came in the proposed scheme

for higher education, and with the same density and tone the vernacular education received support.[26]

In 1854, in three of the hill schools there were 25 pupils. The Kondh tribe of Baro and Attharamutha of Hodozogharo and Tentuliguda demonstrated a hostile attitude to the introduction of schools. The objections they brought forward were such as might be expected from the savages. The most absurd and at the same time the most favourite argument they had was that reading would make their eyes drop out of their sockets.[27]

All their reasons were out of their ignorance. The only fact that had any reason was that, if their children were engaged in study, they would not assist their parents in work. So there was the difficulty to get pupils for the schools in the meriah tract. Even the prospect of employment did not induce the parents to part with their children. The Kondh society was yet to understand the prospect of education. Their aggressive attitude towards the government, which was due to their religious considerations, compelled the government to engage police and school masters to get pupils for the schools. Persuasion did not work and these officials failed in their assigned effort.[28] The position in the plains was different. The people understood the necessity of English education to get employment. This encouraged the government to open new schools in the lower parts of the ghats. It was felt that only by associating Oriya and Kondh boys together, a change in the latter could be effected to the benefits of that society. There were few problems in the establishment of Oriya schools. Gevernment had great interest to achieve a change in the outlook of Kondhs and these Oriya schools were looked upon as the media to their achievement. The only expectation was that the pupil out of these schools would be brought as a class of teachers to serve in the hill schools. The difficulty of getting teachers, who were expected to know the Kondh

language, would be solved then.[29] But the government had to overcome few difficulties in this regard. The Oriya schools which became mixed schools in the interest of the Kondh society and to the purpose of the government posed the question of castism. The Oriyas did nct admit their children to such schools and to mix up with the Kondh boys. Secondly, the conservative outlook of the Kondhs was a barrier to the success of such schools. Rarely, a Kondh did part with his child.

The hill schools in the first ten years of their establishment were unsuccessful for many reasons. Apart from public encouragement, which was rare, the administration of the government accounted more for their failure. There were no qualified teachers and effective supervision. In absence of ablemen and effective machinery, the intention of the government was not conveyed properly and in time to the Kondh society. As a result, the Kondhs were incapable to comprehend the objects of education. The government's assignment of police to the task further had aggravated the position. The police were corrupt and their oppressive practice deprived the government to keen a harmonious relation with these people. This often brought a series of oppositions to the government and the importance of the meriah agency's work through education became more uncertain.

The schools were neglected. The teachers did not realise the importance of the schools and the purpose of their being established in the hill tracts. To make them more attached for their work the agent had laid great stress to enhance the salary of these school master. The scales of pay given to these teachers were comparatively low to the scales given in government village schools of Bengal. It varied from Rs. 25/- to Rs. 15/- per month.[30]

The educational operation of the Madras government at this period was on a small scale. Compared with those of

the other Indian governments. The entire expenditure in 1852-53 amounted to only Rs. 45,556-13 annas-14 paise. In the same year the Bengal government had expended a sum of Rs. 5,84,987-13 annas-9 paise, North West provinces Rs. 2,00,14?-8 annas-9 paise, Bombây government Rs. 1,71,439/-.[31]

In the provinces scarcely any thing had been done. In addition to the provincial schools, there was nothing except an industrial school at Negapatam, few elementary schools for the instructions of the Kondhs in Ganjam, some vernacular schools in the Delta taluks of Godavari district, and two at south Arcot and one at Pulicat.[32]

Soon after the issue of 1854 despatch, a notable trend had come in the sphere of education. People were given an absolute freedom to manage the institutions of education with proper grants from the government. In different parts of the presidency educational operation were carried on by private societies and individuals. In some districts the missionaries had taken a very extensive and leading part. The 1854 despatch was a great encouragement to the private bodies in their work to education.[33]

In August 1855 the first grants-in-aid rules for Madras Presidency were published. The conditions of aid were neither complex nor numerous. The grants were made with a special view to the extension and improvement of the secular education of the people. The grant was given impartially to all schools. One of the essential conditions of aid was that the schools should be under the management of one or more persons. These persons as members of a committee were required to undertake the general superintendence of the school. Grants were given for some specific objects too. In the year 1855-56 a sum of Rs. 11,605/- was given as grants-in-aid.[34]

In the year 1855-56 four new schools were established in the hill tracts of Ghumsur and Chinnakimedi for the

instructions of Kondhs in large. These schools were under the management of the agent since March, 1852.[35]

One of the most important measures of the year was the establishment of normal schools for the training of teachers. The Berhampur Zilla School was established on 30th April, 1856.[36] By this time in the entire presidency there were altogether six such schools. In Cudapah the school was established towards the close of the year. These schools accommodated the following number of students in different years.[37]

Name of the School	Number of students on roll on 30th April			
	1857	*1858*	*1859*	*1860*
1. Cuddalore	152	200	235	235
2. Chittore	185	194	160	179
3. Salem	195	125	141	181
4. Madura	163	132	185	209
5. Berhampur	168	135	117	106
6. Cudapah	not established	73	89	86
7. Rajmahundry	—	—	104	108

Till the year 1855 there had been a great difference in standard among the Zilla Schools, Provincial Schools and the Taluk Schools. In all these institutions there was a diversity in the quality of instructions imparted. The provincial and zilla schools supported by the government and those of missionaries imparted instructions through the medium of English. Whereas the Taluk schools imparted instructions through the vernacular medium. A knowledge of English was the surest passport to the official employment, and people preferred the former and did not accept the latter schools so popularly.[38]

With a view to adopt a uniform classification and course of instructions in all the schools of the same grade, the

government wanted a revision in the course of studies. A committee for this purpose was appointed. In the scheme the committee provided the division of zilla schools into two departments, a primary and a senior department and the provincial schools into three departments.[30] Much emphasis was given on both the vernacular instructions, and these became the ground work of educational instructions. Subjects such as History, Geography, Arithmetics were taught in vernacular. English became a compulsory subject in the lower vernacular school instructions. It was studied merely as a language. The Taluk schools, whose successes were relative to the success of the elementary education, let freely to improve instructions through the medium of vernacular languages.[40]

Till 1860 the work of the educational department was confined only to secure persons as servants of the state.[41] A considerable progress was made in the University Education, Secondary Education, while the Education of the Primary section was completely neglected in the presidency.

During the year the hill schools worked well. The number of pupils in attendance were 521, of whom 171 were in the third or highest class. In these schools instructions were given entirely in the Oriya language. The instructions embraced reading, writing, and grammatical study of Oriya language, arithmetics as far as vulgar fractions, the outlines of geography and history of Orissa. In the upper division of third class the elements of Astronomy were added to the subject of study. Among the hill schools, the best schools were those at Brahamanapada, Shankerkhol and Purnagarh or Purnagad. These had about 50 students in each. These vernacular schools were quite equal to the Oriya Taluk schools in standard. In these hill schools the Kondhs and Vanoes formed the majority of the pupils; and were weak in performance. They could not readily apply the rules or the definition of grammar, and were incapable of

understanding the didactic portions of the 'Hitopodesh' or 'Hito-Updesh' They were incapable, too, to comprehend and explain the natural phenomena given in Dr. Sutton's Catechism of Astronomy. Their progress in Geography and History was very poor.[42]

In the year 1862 the government had shifted the location of four hill schools to places of easy accessment. Close supervision and changed outlook of the people in general brought an increase in the number of pupils in these schools. There were 572 pupils in all the hill schools. The standard was improved in many of the schools and the study of Euclid had been commenced. The improvement was assigned mainly to the training given to the teachers for three months in the Aska Taluk School, and subsequently in the Russellkonda School.[43]

The position of southern Orissa at this time i.e. 1861-62, as regards education was not satisfactory.[44] It had 29 schools of all descriptions. Out of these 26 schools belonged to the government, 1 school of other description and 2 schools under private management. In all these schools there were 1,020 pupils. According to standard 3 of these schools taught higher classes. They were the schools at Chatrapur managed by the Mission officials and supported by the rent of the house and property donated by Mr. A. P. Onslow, on 24th February 1854[45], the other was the Zilla school at Berhampur, and the third one at Chicacole maintained by Missionaries. There were 6 taluk schools and 20 village schools. The *Zilla* school was only the institution educated upto the University entrance standard.[46] In the higher standard institutions there were 254 pupils, in the middle schools or taluk schools there were 148 and 618 in the village schools. The Taluk schools performance were not good. The course of instructions in Taluk schools comprised reading, writing, Arithmetics and Geography. These were taught in vernacular.[47]

By this time the government had rejected the proposal of levying a special tax for the support of village schools. The contribution of a rate conferred by the revenue authorities in Delta taluk in Godavari led to the education bill of 1863 i.e. Act VI of 1863. The object was to provide a proper machinery for the collection and management of a rate for the support of schools. But the operation of the Act was delayed by seven years and was limited to nine districts out of nineteen in the presidency. The experiment of extending an interest in education by means of voluntary rate was of little success, and the government introduced a series of Acts in 1871 to levy a compulsory cess.[48]

The system of imposing a compulsory rate was not to the benefit of the rural population. Such a measure did not find favour with the Madras government. But the embarrased finance condition of India rendered the government to accept the measure without any other alternation.[49]

The distribution of schools in several districts of the presidency was still unequal. Of 875 schools in the presidency in the year 1863-64, 242 were in the district of Tinnevelly, 201 in Coimbatore, 117 in Godavari and the rest 312 were in the sixteen districts.[50] The improportionate distribution of schools kept few regions of the presidency advanced in education. In the interior regions the proportion of pupils to the population was much below than it was in the presidency town and other few neighbouring districts, where the missionaries took the responsibility of the equcation.[51]

Till the year 1864, the grants-in-aid system had some defects and these did not encourage the public to set up educational institutions on their own need. The government, however, had revised the rules in the said year. These were viewed a little flexible than of the provisions of 1854 and would be most helpful to encourage the public to establish

and set up educational institutions in a proper and improved manner. The modification of 1864 in the grants-in-aid system was favourable to the extension and improvement of secular education of the people.[52]

By the year 1865, the Zilla school of Berhampur became the main educational centre of the region. In the year 1867 68 it presented 3 students in matric examinations and these were successful.[53] The people became conscious of the need of education and a general aware of the neglect of their language was felt. Petitions followed continually and the result was that Oriya language was recognised as an official language in the year 1871-72. Till this year pupils though read in their language, could not appear in the examinations conducted by the government for its offices. Those who sought employment appeared either in Telugu or English language.[54] This policy of non-recognition of the Oriya language in the courts, public offices and in the university and civil service examinations had many ill consequences. Not only the Oriyas suffered back in getting employment, but also their literature could not spread widely. A barrier in language had kept them long to understand any benevolent measures of the government. A different view against the government was bound to prevail in them, and this became evident in different years risings.

In higher equcational institutions English was adopted in the medium of instructions and government emphasised almost exclusively on the spread of western service and culture. This inevitably led to the neglect of two important objectives in the revival of Indian education viz.; the cultivation of oriental learning and the development of modern Indian language.[55] The result was that "useful and practical knowledge suited to every station of life could not be conveyed to the great mass of the people of India".[56] The position of the hill schools at this period was not satisfactory. The unsatisfactory condition of the majority of the schools

was attributed to the insurrection of the Kondhs that took place in 1865 November and December.[57] As such in all the hill schools i.e. 16 schools ; there were 487 pupils In the said year the superivision of these schools was entrusted to an officer under the designation of Superintendent at Rs. 30/- p.m. There were also the Deputy Inspector of Schools and the Divisional Inspector of Schools.[58]

For administrative purposes the entire presidency was divided into seven divisions, like the first division, the second division and the third division and so on. Each division was formed taking some districts as to convenience. The first division of the presidency was comprised of districts Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari.[59] Each division had a Inspector assisted by Deputy Inspector of Schools and inspecting school masters. There were 3 Deputy Inspectors each for Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts and 7 and 6 inspecting school masters respectively.[60]

Till 1866 there was not a single school in the Koraput-Jeypore agency tract. The school which was established by Mr. Carmichal in Jeypore in 1862 met with no success. The main reason was the non-availability of teachers for this region. The school did not work for some time and it could not be revived again. A fresh beginning was made by opening a school at Gunupur and it worked successfully.[61]

At this period the government had encouraged the natives, and especially, the zemindars to open schools on their estates.[62] The system of private enterprise was founded in 1868 and was consolidated in 1871.[63] The effort of the government in this regard was fruitful. The zemindars or the Rajas of this region, of the Southern Orissa, had extended their benevolent hands in the cause of education. This was due to their regular contact and association with the ruling men whose enlightened views they aspired, and which provoked in them a sense of responsibility with love and sympathy for their people, and worked for a general

elevation in knowledge among them. They set schools, donated wealth and managed the affairs with great interest. Their contributions to the spread of education came at different times, yet their timely significance could in no way be denied. Their right effort was slow and gradual, and it stimulated the conscience of the people to achieve much of their rights. In course of time schools which were founded as primary schools had attained the status of Grants-in-aid school, Taluk school, Middle school, First Grade high school and Second grade College.[64]

In the year 1867 the standard of Vernacular schools was determined by a prescription of certain examinations to different grades. As such the examination for First standard constituted of Reading, Writing to dictation and little of mathematics concerning simple multiplications, additions and subtractions. In the Second standard, apart from reading and dictation, the examination prescribed four simple and compound rules of arithmetics. In the Third standard it was of little higher standard. It included an ability test. The test needed the pupil to explain an easy piece of prose and poetry and some vulgar fractions of arithmetics together with simple and compound rules. The examination at Fourth standard was of little variation to the Third standard test.[65]

In the following year i.e. 1868-69, in Ganjam there were altogether 34 institutions. Of these 1 was a school of higher class, 18 middle schools and 15 lower schools. These had 184, 850 and 658 pupils respectively.[66] Out of these 34 institutions 13 were established by private bodies, 11 of these private institutions had received grants and the two others did not receive any grant. The pupils attended in private schools were 568 and in the government schools 1124.[67]

In the said year a normal school was established in Russelkonda with 8 students. The intention was to provide training to teachers for the hill schools. It was also an

intention of the government to provide ample scope to the people of the tract to render their services in the promotion of education. The services of the natives in the governmental organisations of the region was indispensable for the benefits of the government. The people understood little of governmental benefit upon them and very few preferred employment.[68] This was a great blunder of the people in those days and that in subsequent years became a problem to them to acquaint themselves in the progressive organisations of the government to achieve their rightful share in developmental schemes.

At this period in the Presidency there were a fair number of higher and middle schools. But in the Southern tract of Orissa there were no adequate number of higher class schools. The few number of middle schools were not sufficient to accommodate the increasing number of pupils for education. There were no schools exclusively for girls, nor were there any mixed schools for them.[69] The education of the women was completely neglected in this region. Even in the Presidency it was in a low state. Government did nothing to elevate women through education.[70]

During these years government encouraged education by means of grants. It was directed either in improvement of the old schools in existence or in the erection of new ones an improved manner. The government took effective steps only to secure men to these schools whose ability determined the quality of examinations and continuity of schools by regular inspections.[71]

While attending the education in general, the government did not fail to make provisions for the education of the orphans of 1866 famine. It was done on humanitarian principles. The Roman Catholic Mission at Surada, the Baptist Mission and the Chaplain at Berhampur took the responsibility to educate such children. Government spent a sum of Rs. 23,831-5 annas-5 paise. On these children for

four years ending in 1876-77. These missionaries provided education as well as a training in industrial professions, which the rescued famine stricken children completed with little success.[72]

Period of Expansion

Government had been insisting on the organisation of educational institutions by private bodies with donations and charities, and wherever possible to levy a compulsory cess to meet the educational expenses. This mode of management of the educational affairs of the tract was not favourable to poor peasants. A broad view, however, of the government was conveyed in 1871. A notable event of the year was the enactment of the Municipal Act III of 1871. With the passing of the Acts to levy a compulsory cess, the government intended to encourage the Local Boards and the Municipalities to take up the management of the primary schools.[73] By the Act the Local Bodies were empowered to expend their funds on education. Provisions were also made to associate the Local Boards with the District offices in the administration of school funds. The effect of this arrangement was almost magical. The Local Boards worked under the advices of the Inspector of Schools and aided private schools in pre'erence of their own. They did not open schools.[74]

Under this arrangement, the institutions were classified into three categories according to their mode of receiving grants. The Public institutions were the government institutions and were under the control of education department. The second type of institutions were under the Local Board, the Third type were the aided or the private institutions which received grants either from the government or the Local Bodies. The distribution of schools according to their source of support were as follows :[75]

Description of Schools	No. of schools	1870-71 No. of pupils	1871-72 No. of schools	No. of pupils
Government Institutions	119	10,811	118	9,347
Aided Institutions	2,313	84,677	2,904	98,315
Schools under inspection but not received grants	1,047	19,724	1,379	27,530
Grand Total	3,479	1,15,212	4,401	1,35,192

During this period at Ganjam there were 80 schools of all descriptions with 2,778 pupils in 1871. In the following year there were 180 institutions with pupils 4,089 in all the institutions. Scholars connected with the department in proportion to population was 1 364. The average proportion of the first division comprising Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari and Kistna was 1 352.[76]

After 1871, a noticeable change and development in education in the Southern Orissa was visible. Upto the year 1873-74 there were no girls received instructions in these schools. However, in the presidencyt he female education was fostered by the missionaries, even before the despatch of 1854.[77] In most of the provinces of India female education formed part of the programme of the missionary effort. In the Madras Presidency the first attempt at female education in the modern sense consisted of the Boarding Schools maintained by the Church and England societies in Tinnevelly. It was intended almost exclusively for daughters of Christian converts. In 1870-71 in the presidency there were over 10,000 girls instructed in educational institutions. Of these 2,810 Europeans studied English, 5,788 Tamil, 1,397 Telugu, 703 Malayalam, 221 Kanarese, 25 Tulva and 7 French.[78] It was in the year 1874-75 in Ganjam among the pupils of 3,747, there were 13 girls studied in the common schools.[79] In the following year they numbered only to 2 among 5,076

pupils. Till this period the Oriya girls of this tract never came in advance for study in the educational institutions. It was the social system that prevented the female section of the population from their right to education. However, with the increase of schools of elementary character, the women society could enjoy the privilege of being educated. Their gradual increase in the educational institutions was partly due to the changing time.[80]

In the changing theme of the time, the Southern Orissa had its role. The people felt the distress of their daughters in the tradition ridden society, and they looked forward to education as a solution and support in their day to day existence. There was a fair increase in the number of girls students in the institutions, and they numbered 324 and 399 in the year 1886-87 and 1887-88 respectively in the Ganjam district.[81] But the conservative societies had no flexible opinion about the education of their girls. The Russelkonda elementary school for the Mussalmans was an unsuccessful attempt in this regard. It was opened in the year 1875-76, but closed soon.[82] By this time in the district Ganjam there were 334 institutions with pupils 6,909, besides the 17 hill schools with 860 pupils.[83] In the year 1877-78 in the Ganjam hills there were 18 schools with 744 pupils. In the said year the total outlay upon education amounted to Rs 5,576-4 annas 3-paise.[84]

In the year 1878 the Taluk school of Parlakhemundi was raised to the standard of a first grade high school with a strength of 70 boys.[85] The sale of Oriya books on instriuctions was limited and on the lowest number in comparision with the other languages, before the organisation of the Oriya department in the Zilla School of Berhampur in 1871. 1,655 copies of Oriya class books were sold in the year 1867-68. In that year majority of the sale was credited to the books on Tamil language which numbered 42,243 copies to the value of Rs. 9,355-8 annas 6-paise.[86] In 1874-75 and

1875-76 books on instructions in Oriya language sold were 2,245 and 3,914 copies to the value of Rs. 442-7 annas-0 paise, and Rs. 618-anna 1-and paise 3 respectively.[87] The increase was due to the increase in the number of pupils who studied Oriya. The increase in the pupils was due to the increase of the educational institutions in the region.

In 1879, the Zilla school of Berhampur was raised to a second grade college. There were 6 boys in the first Arts class and in the following year there were 5.[88] Till 1888 it continued as a government institution. In persuasion of the policy recommended by the Education Commission in 1882 the government asked the local Municipality to undertake the management of the college. But the Berhampur Municipality declined to take the burden from financial point of view. The institution was about to close. At this time Mr. Horsfoul, the Collector of the district had an appeal to the principal residents of the town, who with great interest took up the management of the college in 1888. In this year it was reaffiliated under the name of the Native College, Berhampur. In the said year there were 150 students in the institution.[89]

At this period education was making a steady progress in the Presidency. Institutions of every nature were opened under the Directorship of Mr. Grigg.[90] Most of the progressive works were due to the effort of the private bodies. Where private societies did not exist, the government as a policy encouraged the Local Bodies to undertake the task to Middle school education in their area. The Local Bodies, however, were exempted to collect any cess from the locality, and government had assured them finance assistance from the provincial funds. Adequate provisions were made to bring up the local bodies to shoulder up this burden.[91] Apart from this state help, the Municipalities were let free to extend a considerable fund of their own on education, especially, Primary. This, however, depended upon their

financial soundness. In the year 1881-82, the Berhampur Municipality contributed a sum of Rs. 2,296/- to schools for Public Instructions.[92]

In the said year 1881-82, 2 girls schools were taken up by the Raja of Parlakhemundi. There were 30 Oriya girls and 28 Telugu girls on the rolls. At this time not only the people of the plains sent their daughters to schools, but the aboriginals too. The hill schools at this period i.e. 1883-84 accommodated 882 boys and 116 girls and in the following year 827 boys and 102 girls. Of these 929 pupils, there were 704 Oriyas, 219 Kondhs and 6 Savaras.[93] The aboriginals constituted half of the total pupils in all the primary institutions. Of the total pupils 1,328 on first Aprii, 1884, 863 were Oriya pupils and 465 were the Kondhs.[94]

In the said year i.e. 1884, the Second grade high school of Parlakhemundi was recognised as a First Grade High school.[95] In the same year the Russelkonda Oriya School was handed over to the Local Board on the condition that government would pay the net cost of the Board.[96] This was in accordance with the rules framed under the Madras Local Board Act 1884, and the object was to give a further impetus to the extension of primary education through the Local Bodies. The rules were expressive as to the duty it assigned to the Local Bodies, clear in nature and condusive to the public interest with adequate provisions for the development of the primary education. The Madras Government had also announced to spend an amount of equal to 5% of its total revenue to education in general. The Local Bodies could have better channalised their energy with the support of the government. But the internal system was clearly still wanting. In Bengal the Local funds did not exist, no education cess was levied, and the Municipal funds for educational purpose were inadequate. So in 1884, the Bengal government increased the annual grant for primary education to 8 lakhs of rupees.[97]

The Local Board had managed the Russelkonda Oriya School to the end of 1889-90. In the said year i.e. 1889-90 the upper fourth class was opened. During the management of the Taluk Board it had an additional staff in the following manner.[98]

		Formerly it had the following staff	
Assistant Teacher	1	Headmaster	1
Oriya Pandit	1	First Assistant	1
Gymnastic Instructor	1	Second Assistant	1
Drawing Teacher	1	Third Assistant	1
Watcher	1	Peon	1

In the year 1885-86 the hill schools under the Vizagapatam agency were transferred from the Education Department to the agency i.e. the Agent became the administering authority. In this year the Agent induced the Kalikota Savaras to start a school in their village, and the persuasion was without result.[99] Upto this period the difficulty of obtaining teachers for the Jeypore region was not overcome. Owing to this fact, the Kotpad school, which in 1886-87 was closed, was revived in 1887-88. The change in the administrative system did not prove fruitful as was expected. At this period in Vizagapatam agency there were 65 schools with 134 pupils.[100] The attendance in these schools was very poor. People were yet to know of education and enlightenment. The people received no encouragement nor were there any inducement from the government side to stimulate desire in the people for education.

The Primary schools did not have any examination till 1888. In the year 1889 an examination known as the Primary school examination was introduced. It was made a compulsory test for admission to the Public service in respect of all appointments under Rs. 15/- per mensem. The subject of examinations were almost identical with that of the fourth

standard. The effects of the introduction of the examination system were two. First it encouraged every pupil to continue their study upto fourth standard. Formerly, almost all the pupils left the school after completion of their third standard study. The prospect of employment had induced most of the pupils to prosecute their studies in the higher standard.[101] Secondly, there was an increase in the number of pupils in the educational institutions. The examinations were conducted by a local board appointed by the government for a term of three years.[102]

In between the years 1871-1888 a general development in education had reduced the range of the proportion of population to one pupil. In 1871 the pupil-population ratio was 1 144, in 1884-85 and 1885-86, it was 1 : 66 and 1 : 65 respectively. In Madras and Vizagapatam it ranged from 1 : 5 and 1 134 in 1884-85 and 1 : 14 and 1 : 138 in 1885-86 respectively. When taken as a whole division, the pupil-population ratio of the first division, with districts Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari and Krisna, in 1884-85 and 1885-86 were 1 84 and 1 88. The Third division, with districts Madras, Chingleput and Nellore the pupil-population ratio during the said years were 1 49 and 1 : 47.[103] In the following years i.e. 1386-87 and 1887-88 the pupil-population ratio in Ganjam were 1 : 59 and 1 : 57 ; in Vizagapatam 1 : 136 and 1 ; 119 in the entire presidency 1 : 63 and 1 : 61.[104]

Towards the last years of the century a general trend in the improvement of education was taken place. The Vizagapatam agency tract in 1896 had 120 schools with 2,551 pupils.[105] In 1897-98, 1898-99 and in 1899-1900 in the entire Vizagapatam agency there were 176, 178 and 185 schools with 3,600, 3,626 and 3,740 pupils. Among these there were 862 aboriginals in 1898-99 and 826 in 1899-1900.[106] The progressive situation was due to the increase in the education institutions or schools in adequate number.

The majority of pupils who attended schools were the sons of the people who had migrated from the neighbour districts for better possessive advantages. The polished behaviour of the plain dwellers in the Jeypore agency induced the Kondh people to send their children to schools. A social intercourse between the two races had resulted a change in the settled inhabitants of the region. The change was not only visible in their aspirations to enjoy the educational benefits but also the cultural phenomena of the immigrants.[107]

In the year 1896, the First grade high school of Parlakhemundi was raised to a Second grade College.[108] At this period in the entire Southern Orissa region there were only two colleges which instructed for higher education. These two were managed by the private bodies. The government did nothing for the spread of higher education in this part of the presidency. The position of Secondary education was also not satisfactory, and the primary education was still on the need of government assistance.

In Ganjam the total number of boys and girls in the primary schools on 31st March of 1898, 1899 and 1900 were 3,235 and 198, 3,076 and 144, 4,035 and 191. Of the boys 4,035, there were 1,777 aboriginals, and of 191 girls, there were 10 aboriginal girls studied in the primary schools in the year 1899-1900. Among the 1,777 aboriginal boys, there were 449 Savaras, 991 Kondhs and 287 Panos and among the 10 girls 8 of the girls were Savaras, 1 was Kondh and 1 Pano.[109] In the years 1898-99 and 1899-1900 in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam agency there were 54 and 61, and 49 schools respectively. At this time in the presidency all classes of schools improved in strength, and the increase in Ganjam was more.[110]

Compared to the other districts of the Presidency the Southern Orissa region was completely neglected in respect of Education. Government did little in the zemindary tracts. The zemindary system was wholly responsible to keep the

people unconscious of their right. And it was a main reason that kept the people educationally backward. In the Ryotwari area people became conscious of their rights. And these rights became the ground work of education. That a Patwaree had to take an interest in education and in the education of his children for the purposes of protection of his landed rights and an acquaintance with the principles and papers concerning land. There was thus a powerful and direct inducement to the mind of almost every individual to acquire so much of learning and reading for the protection of his rights. It was plainly manifested that without the rudiment of education they were liable to be wrongfully treated with. This feeling became an essential ingredient of their thought that provoked the necessity of reading and writing in their day to day life.[111]

REFERENCES

1. Selections from the Educational records, Vol. I, 1781-1839 by W. M. Sharp, p. 3, 1920 (OSA-P-1-1/42).
2. History of Orissa Literature by Dr. N. Samantaray, p. 45.
3. British attitude towards India (1784-1858) by George D. Bearce. Ch. "Education and Western Improvement", p. 282.
4. Socio-Economic Condition of Orissa during 19th Century by Dr. N. C. Jena, p. 217.
5. The Administration of the East India Company by J. W. Kaye, p. 589.
6. Minute of Sir Thomas Munro dated 26th June, 1822 (Selection from the records of Madras, Government No. II papers relating to Public Instructions by A. J. Arbuthnot), pp. I to III (A.P.S.A., Hyderabad).

7. Letters from H. Harkness, Secretary to the Committee of Public Instructions to P. R. Cazalet and J. W. Monk, Esq. at Ganjam dated 24. 6. 1826 (Vol. 3900, Ganjam Dist. Rerord T.N.A.M.), p. 156.
   (a) Proceeding of the Madras Government, Education Deptt. dated 19th March, 1867 (Memorandum by A. J. Arbuthnot dt. 7. 4. 1859 (1855) (A. P. S. A. Hyderabad).
   (b) Selection from the East India House "Papers relating to education." Revenue consultation dated 2nd July, 1882, Minute of Sir Thomas Munro dt. 25. 6. 1822), p. 588.
8. Letter in the Revenue Department. From the court of Directors to the Governor in Council of Fort. St. George dated 18. 5. 1825. (Selection from the records of Madras Government No. II, Appendix, 'B'), p. IV.
   (a) British attitude towards India "Education and Western Improvement" by G. D. Bruce, p. 144.
9. Reveaue report dated 21.2.1825 from Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Chtef Secretary to Government (Selection No. II, Appendix 'C').
10. Revenue report dated 21. 2. 1825 from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Chief Secretary to Government (Selection No. II, Appendix 'C'), p. IX.
11. Minute of Sir Thomas Munro dated 10th March, 1826 (Seleetion No. II) by A. J. Arbuthnot, Appendix 'E', p. XX.
    (a) Selection from education Records, Vol. I by W. H. Sharp, pp. 73-77, Ch. V (O. S, A.) P-1-1/42.
12. Ibid.
    (a) Letter from H. Harkness, Secretary of the Committee of Public Instructions, to P. R. Cazalet and J. W, Monk dated 24th June, 1826 (Vol. 3900-GDR, T.N.A,M.), pp. 155-157.

(b) Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrat, p. 312.

13. Minute of Sir Thomas Munro dated 10th March, 1826 (Selection No. II) by A. J. Arbuthnot, Appendix 'E', p. XX.

(a) Selection from the Records of Madras Government No. XVII. Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1854-55, from A. J. Arbuthnot, D.P.I. to T. Pycraft, Esq. Chief Secretary dated 2$th August, 1855, p. 2.

14. From the Board of Public Instruction to the Right Hon. Sir F, Adam, K.C.B. Governor in Council, Fort St. George, dated 6th December 1834 (Selection II, Appendix 'L'), p. LVI.

15. Letter from Robert Bayard, Collector, Ganjam to the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated 19th April, 1827, p. 94.

(Vol. 3910. Letters sent in the Rev. Deptt. during the management of Robort Bayard, Collector, Ganjam, 1827. Ganjam District Record, T.N.A.M.).

16. From the Board of Public Instruction to the Right Hon. Sir F. Adam, K.C.B., Governor in Council, Fort. St. George, dt. 6th December, 1834. (Selection No. II, Appendix 'L'), p LX

17. From the Board of Public Instruction to the Right Hon. Sir F. Adam, K C.B., Governor in Council, Fort. St. George. dt 6th December, 18·4. (Selection No. II, Appendix 'L'), p. LXIX.

18. Public Department, Minute of consultation dated 18 5.1836. (From Chief Secretary Mr. H. Chamier to Government of India, To the President and Member of the Board of College and for Public Instruction, Appendix P', Selection No. II), p. XCII.

(a) Selection from Education Records, 1840-59, Part II by J. A. Richey, C. P. C., Ch. V, Madras, pp. 177-178.

19. The Administration of the East India Company by J. W. Kaye, p. 594 (1966, Allahabad).

20. From Mr. G. A. Busby, Secretary to the Government of India, to H. Chamier, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort. St. George dated 15th July, 1835. (Selection No. II, Appendix 'O', p. LXXXIV.

21. From Mr. G. A. Busby, Secretary to the Government of India to H. Chamier, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort. St. George, dated 15th July, 1835. (Selection No. II, Appendix 'C'), p. XCVI (A. P. S. A. Hyderabad).

(a) Standing information regarding the administration of the Madras Presidency, Section XII, Education, p. 396. (A. P. S. A., Hyderabad).

22. Selection from the Educational Records, Part II, 1840-1859. by J. A. Richey, O. S. A. P-1-1/43, p. 178.

23. From the Secretary to the Council of Education, R. G. Clarke, to the Chief Secretary to Government J. F. Thomas, dated 14th July, 1846. (Selection II, Appendix 'S-S'), p. CCXLVIII.

24. Minute by Marquis of Tweddle, dated 24th August, 1846. (Selection II, Appendix 'T-T'), p. CCXLIX.

25. From Lt. R. M. Macdonald, Agent, Ganjam, to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, dt. Russelkonda, 31st January, 1855 (R. H. A.), pp. 54-55.

(a) Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India by Edward Thomson and G. T. Garratt, pp. 312-325. (A. P. S. A., Hyderabad).

26. Journal of Education, Madras, Vol. VI, February, 1982. No. 2, pp. 76-78 (Y. L. E.), 'History of Education in the Madras Presidency' by S. Sattiandhan.
27. From R. M. Macdonald, Assistant Agent, to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam dated Russelkonda, 31st January, 1855, (R. M. A.), pp, 54-55.
28. Ibid.
29. From R. M. Macdonald, Assistant Agent, Ganjam, to the Agent of Governor, in Ganjam dated 31-1-1855 (R.M. A.), pp. 54-55.
    (a) Selection from the Records of the Madras Government, No. XVII. "Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1854-55." From A. J. Arbuthnot, Esq. D.P.I, to the T. Pycraft, Esq. Chief Secretary to Govt. Fort St. George dt. 29-8-1855, p. 28.
30 From R. M. Macdonald dated 31 1 1855 (R. M. A.), pp 54-55.
    (a) Selection from the record of Madras Government No. XVII. "Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1854-55. From. A. J. Arbuthnot Esq., D.P.I. to T. Pycraft, Esq., Chief Secretary to Govt Fort St. George dated 29th August, 1855, pp. 22-23.
31. Report on Public Instructions in the Madras Presidency for 1855-56. No. XXXV. (No 287, Madras, 5th November, 1856. From D.P.I. to the Chief Secretary to Govt. Fort. St. George, pp. 1-3 (O. S. A. R. III-1/1167).
32. Report of the administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1875-76, Ch. VII, Educational Department, pp. 356-357.
33. Report of the administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1875-76, Ch. VII, Educational Department, p. 358.

(a) Selection from education records, Vol. I by N. A. Indu, (1960) (O.S.A.P-I, 1/49), p. 288.

(b) Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, pp. 310-315. (A. P. S. A. Library).

34. Journal of Education, Madras, Vol. VI, No. 8, August, 1892. "History of Education in the Madras Presidency by S. Sattyamadhar, (Y.L.B), pp. 466-467.

35. Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presideney for 1854-55. From A. J. Arbuthnot, Esq., D.P.I. to T. Pycroft, Esq, Chief Secretary to Government Fort. St. George dated 29th August, 1855. (Selection from the records of Madras Government No. XVII)

36. Manual of the Adminisiration of Madras Psesidency, Vol. III, p. 165 (Madras, 1886).

(a) Education in India (Parliament papers) Annals of Indian Administration, Vol. II, Part VIII, p. 391 by M. Townsend. (A.S.O.A. 76, T. N. A).

(b) Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1859-60, Part III, Ch. IX, p. 30 (A. S. O. A., 96-T. N. A).

37. Report on the administration of Public Instructions in the Madras Presidency for the year 1857-58. (A. S. O. A.-174), p. 21, (T. N. A).

(a) Report on the administration of Public Instructions in the Madras Presidency for the year 1859-60, (A. S. O. A. 171 T. N. A.) from D.P.I., E. B. Powell, to the Chief Secretary to Covernment, Fort St. George dated 19th June, 1860, No. 1285.

(b) Journal of Education, Madras, Vol. VI, No. 7, July, 1892. "History of Education in Madras Presidency" by S. Sattianandham, pp. 403-405.

38. The Journal of Education, Madras, Vol. VI, No. 9, September, 1892, p. 529.
39. Manual of the Administration of the Presidencies and Provinces of British India during the year 1857-58, Part II, (A. P. S. A. Hyderabad), p. 22.
40. Journal of Education, Madras, Vol. VI, No. 10, October, 1892, p. 590.
    (a) Report of the Administration of Public affairs of the Madras Presidency for the year 1857-58, pp. 22-23 (A. P. S. A. Hyderabad).
41. Administration report of the Madras Presidency for year 1859-60. (A. S. O. A 177, T. N. A.). Report on the Administration of the Department of Public Instructions during the year 1859-60 from the D.P.I., E. B. Powell, to the Chief Secretary to Govt. Fort. St. George dated 19th June 1860, No. 1285.
42. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1860-61 (A. S. O. A-178, T. N. A.), p. 128.
43. Annual report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1861-62 (A.S.O.A 180. T.N.A.), p. 139.
44. Ibid., pp. 131-139.
45. Third Tour of H.E. the Right Hon. the Lord Pentland, P.C.G.C.I.E., Governor of Madras, 1913 to Vizagapatam and Ganjam from 30th Nov. to 16th Dec. 1913, p. 109 (Ganjam Collectorate Library).
    (a) Report on Public Instructions in the Madras Presidency for 1855-56. No. XXXV. (No. 827, Madras, dated 5-11-1856 from D.P.I. to the Chief Secretary to Govt. Fort. St. George), pp. 1-3.
    (b) Administration report of the Madras Presidency for the year 1859-60, A.S.O.A. 177, dated 19.6.1860. No. 1285 (T.N.A).
    (c) Annual report on the administration of the

Madras Presidency during the year 1861-62 (A.S.O.A-180. T.N.A), pp. 131-139.

46. Selections from the records of Madras Government, Vol. I by N. A. Indu, 1960. 'The State of Education in India', 1863, pp. 46-47, by A. M. Monteath.
   (a) Selection from the records of the Govt. of India Home Dept. No. LIV. "Note on the State of Education in India", 1865-66. (Madras) by A. M. Monteath. 1867, p. 39 (O.S.A. R-III-I/1194).
47. Journal of Education, Madras, Vol. VI, July 1892, No. 7, "History of Education in the Madras Presidency" by S. Sattianadham, pp. 403-405 (Y.L.B).
48. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1875-76, p. 361.
   (a) Journal of Education, Madras, No. 11. November, 1892. "History of Education in Madras Presidency by S. Sathianadhan, p. 661.
   Indian Journal of Education, Vol. IV, 1896, p. 238. "Elementary education in India.
   (b) Selection from the educational Records of India Govt. Vol. 1-Grants-in-aid rules. Madras, p. 285-286 by N. A. Indu, (1960).
   (c) Education in British India, 1870-71 by A. P. Howell. (Selection from the Educational Records of India) Govt.) Vol. I, p. 307. (O.S.A.P.-1-1/45).
49. Ibid.
50. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1863-64. (A.S.O.-A 512-T.N.A), p. 140.
51. Journal of Education, Madras, Vol. VI, No. 9, September and No. 11 November, 1892.
   History of Education in Madras Presidency by S. Sattinadham, pp. 529-531 and pp. 659-660.
52. Letter from E. B. Powell, D. P. I. to the Chief Secretary to Govt. Fort. St. George dt. 22-3-1864, No. 547 (Selection from the Records of Madras Govt., Papers

relating to Grants-in-aid for 1864, No. LXXXII-A.S.C (B). No. 406 (456) T.N.A.

(a) Journal of Education, Madras IV, No. 10, October-1892. History of Education in the Madras Presidency by S. Sattianadham, p. 590.

53. Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency during the year 1867-68. (A.S.O.A-192. T.N.A). pp. 107-113.

54. Annual report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1871-72, Ch. X, Education-p. 169 (A.S.O.A. 201-T.N A).

55. Selection from the Educational Records, by K. D. Bhargava, Vol. II.
"Foreword by Prem Kirpal" (O.S.A. P-I-1/46).

56. Resolution of Industrial Education and Industrial Survey of India dated 18th June, 1886. Selection from the Educational Records of the Govt. of India, Vol. IV, p. 85 (O.S.A.P-I-1/46).

(a) Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, p. 315.

57. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1865-66, Chapter X, pp. 98-100. (A.S.O.-A-188. T.N.A).

58. Ibid.

(a) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Table No. 41, p. 602.

59. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Table No. 40, p. 602.

60. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Table No. 41, p. 602.

61. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, pp. 155-157.

62. Proceeding of the Madras Government, Education Dept. dated 28.1.1867, No. 63.

(a) Letter from D.P.I. to the Chief Secretary to Government Fort. St. George, Madras dated 23.1.1867, No. 141.

(b) Letter from G. S. Forbes, Collector, Ganjam to the D.P.I. dated 10.1.1867, No. 96.

(c) Order dated 28.1.1867, No. 64. Letter from Chief Secretary, to D.P.I. and Collector, Ganjam.

63. The Journal of Education, Madras, Vol. XXXVI, 1896, p. 3.

64. Third tour of H. E. Pentland, Governor, Madras, 1913, pp. 138-177.

65. Proceeding of the Madras Government, Education Department, 1st October, 1867, p. 25.

66. Selection from the records of Madras Government No. XV, Report on public Instructions in the Madras Presidency for 1868-69, p. 4 (O.S.A.R III-1/1153).

67. Ibid.

68. Report on Public Instructions in the Madras Presidency for 1868-69, p. 4 (Selections from the records of Madras Govt. No. XV). (O.S.A. R-III-1/1153).

69. Proceeding of the Madras Government dated 19th March, 1867, p. 13.

70. Selection from the records of Government of India, Home Department No. LIV. 'The State of Education in India' by A. M. Monteath, 1865-66, p. 128.

71. Proceeding of the Madras Government dated 19th March, 1867, p. 13.

72. Report on the administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1876-77, Part-III, Ch. VII, Education, p 366 and Ch. I, p. 17.

73. The Indian Journal of Education, Vol. VI, 1896, p. 3 ; or Madras Journal of Education, Vol. XXXVI, 1896, p. 3.

74. Report of the Indian Education Commission, Vol. I (A.S.O.B-77-T.N.A), p. 89.

75. Annual report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1871-72, (A.S.O.A-201. T.N.A). Ch. X, Education, pp. 160-162.
76. Annual report of the Madras Presidency during the year 1871-72, Ch. X, Education. (A.S.O.A-201-T N.A), pp. 160-162.
77. Report of the Indian Education Commission, Vol. I, p. 11 (A.S.O.B-77-T.N.A., 3rd February, 1882).
78. Ibid, Vol. II. (A.S.O.B-77. T.N.A.), pp. 522-523.
79. Administration report of the Madras Presidency for the year 1875-76, (A.S.O.A. 206-207, T.N.A), pp. 405-407.
80. India under British Crown by B. D. Basu, P. N. Ghose and N. N. Ghosh, p. 326, (1933, APSA).
81. Administration Report of the Madras Presidency for the year 1887-88, Ch. VII, (A.S.O.A. 234. TNA), pp. 165-166.
82. Report of the administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1874-75, (A.S.O.A., 521, T.N.A). p. 454.
83. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. X, p. 70, (9th edn. Edinburgh), (Y.L.B).
84. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1877-78, Sec. I, Ch. I, p. 14.
85. Third tour of H. E. Pentland, Governor, Madras to Vizagpatam and Ganjam in 1913, p. 177.
86. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1867-68, (A.S.O.A. 192, T.N.A.) pp. 107-117.
87. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1875-76, Ch. VII, Education, p. 144 (A.S.O.A. 206-207, T.N.A.).
88. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1879-80, Ch. VII, Education, (A.S.O.A.-218-T.N.A.) p. 291.
89. Third tour of H. E. Pentland, Governor, Madras to

Vizagapatam and Ganjam, 1913, p. 138, (Ganjam Collectorate).

90. Selection from the educational records of the Govt. of India, by K. D. Bhargava, (O.S.A., p. 1/46), Vol. IV, pp. 16-19.

91. Report of the Committee on Local Self Government, Part I, Ch. II, p. 31 (A.S.O.B. 232, T.N.A.).
    (a) Indian Journal of Education, Vol. III, 1895, April, pp. 224-225, (Y.L.B.).

92. Report of the Committee on Local Self Government (A.S.O.B. 232, T.N.A.), pp. 134-136.

93. General Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1884-85, Ch. I, pp. 8-9.

94. Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, p. 4

95. Third tour of H. E. Pentland, Governor, Madras, 1913, p. 177.

96. Ibid.

97. History of Elementary Education in India by J. M. Sen, pp. 171-173, 1933 (O.S.A.H. 1-3/67).

98. Third Tour of H. E. Pentland, Governor, Madras to Vizagapatam and Ganjam in 1913, p. 164.

99. Report of the Administration of Madras Presidency for the year 1885-86, Part II, Ch. I and Ch. VII, Education, pp. 193-201, (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

100. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1887-88, Part II, Ch. I, pp. 8-9, (A.P.S.A. Hyderabad).

101. The Indian Journal of Education, Vol. IV, 1896, pp. 4-5.

102. Ibid, Vol. III, May 1895, Notification of the Commissioner for Govt. examinations, Madras dated 9th April, 1895, p. 377.
    (a) Report of the Indian Education Commission, Vol. I, pp. 121-124. (A.S.O.B-77-T.N.A.), 1882.

103. Administration report of the Madras Presidency for the year 1875-76, pp. 405-407. (A.S.O.A-206-207. T.N.A).
   (a) Ibid, for the year 1885-86, Part II, Ch. I and Ch. VII Education, pp. 193-201.
104. Ibid, for the year 1887-88, Ch. VII, pp. 165-166, (A.S.O.A. 234, T.N.A).
105. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, p. 157.
106 Report on the administration of the Madras Presidency for the year 1898-99, Part II, Ch. I and Ch. VII, p. 9 and 215.
   (a) Report for the year 1899-1900, Part II, Ch. I, p. 12.
107 The Aristrocracy of Southern India by A. Vadivelu, pp. 54-55.
108. Third tour of H. E. Pentland, Governor, Madras to Vizagapatam and Ganjam in 1913, p. 179.
   (a) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 602.
109. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1898-99, Part II, Ch. I, pp. 11-12.
   (a) Ibid, for the year 1889-1900, Part II, Ch. I, p. 12.
110. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1899-1900, Part II, Ch. VII, p. 203.
111. The Administration of the East India Company by J. W. Kaye, pp. 608-609.

6 DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

Commercial Background

On the eve of the Nineteenth Century, Industry, Trade and Commerce of the region was in a low state. As elsewhere in India, agriculture formed the chief occupation of the people. A considerable size of trade depended on agricultural products.[1] Grain and salt were the chief articles of trade. Generally, in common years the quantity of grain exported from Ganjam district was between three to four thousand garces.[2] Trade on other commodities was confined to certain areas and zemindaries.[3] People did not invest money in industries. Abundance of cultivating lands on a favourable rate tempted and induced most of the people to invest their savings in purchasing land than in industrial pursuits.

In the Southern Region of Orissa, people generally depended on barter.[4] Non-availability of good road communication created obstacles in the expansion of trade to other parts of the country. The bulk of the traffic was carried by bullocks and other beasts of burden. Wheel carriages were in rare use.[5] Those who attended the market mostly were the Brinjarris of Nagpur and they traded chiefly on salt. They came through Boudh to Chokapad and therefrom to Ghumsur. Some followed the route from Sambalpur also.[6] The other route they followed was through the Jeypore country, passing through Bissum Cuttack, Gunupuram into the Parlakhemundi. From Parlakhemundi some returned through Palcunda of the Vizagapatam district.[6a]

Trade in the inland was not free from duty. This went in the name of 'Sayer'. It extended over articles such as grain, cattle, salt and all other necessary articles of life. There was no uniformity in the collection of 'Sayer' revenue. It varied from zemindary to zemindary. Under the 'Sayer' revenue a variety of taxes were included. These were indefinite in amount and vexatious in nature. A tax under the nature of 'Moturpha' included impost on houses, on the implements of agriculture, on looms and on professions and castes.[7]

When articles conveyed by land on carriage from Ghumsur to Ganjam a duty of 10% was exacted from the traders. The rates per carriage varied from place to place. They were as under.[8]

At Ghumsur duty levied per carriage was Rs. 2-7 annas -0 paise.

At Athagad the rate was Rs. 2-12 annas -6 paise. In the Havelly taluks the rate was as under :

At Purushottampur	Rs. 0 - 11 annas - 0 paise
At Pratappur	Rs. 0 - 1 anna - 6 paise
At Munsenpentha	Rs. 0 - 5 annas - 6 paise
At Ganjam	Rs. 2 - 12 annas - 6 paise

A small deduction was allowed on rice and paddy. However, this deduction was not sufficient to induce traders to export grains. In the Havelly lands heavy duty was exacted or levied on piece goods. It was nearly 11% at Itchapur, Montreddy, Munsurcotta and Ganjam. The government collected export duties on goods which were intended for export.[9]

Besides these internal duties, the East India Company levied river and sea anchorage duty at different sea ports of the region.[10] In 1788, the Board of Revenue considered this duty heavy and unprofitable and abolished the duty with a view to induce greater use of small craft and freight for external trade.[11] The goods on which the sea and river

custom realized were Paddy, Rice, Coarse grain and others. These were realized at the ports of Ganjam, Sonepur, Munsurcotta or Gopalpur and Callingapatam. The amount collected from different ports of Ganjam in different years were as follows :[12]

Years		*Rupees*	*Annas*	*Paise*
1784-85		17,399	4	2
1785-86		11,626	1	2
1786-87		10,261	5	0
1787-88		10,474	1	4
	Total	49,760	11	8

The rate of river anchorage duty levied on carriages were[13]

For 3 mast vessels	Rs. 60/-
For 2 mast vessels	Rs. 50/-
for a single mast vessel	Rs. 35/- and
for a boat	Rs. 10/-

But when the traders used Cargo to export their goods, they were charged half of the above rates. No other custom was levied on them.[14] From them the Anchorage levied in the roads at different ports of the district were as under :[15]

for 3 mast vessels	Rs. 30/-
for 2 mast vessels	Rs. 25/-
for a single mast vessel	Rs. 17-8-0 and
for a boat	Rs. 5/-

This type of duty the traders had to pay when they used a cargo. The rates of custom on merchandise were as follows :[16]

	Rupees	*Annas*	*Paise*
Paddy per garce	2	2	2
Coarse rice per garce	4	3	3
Fine rice per garce	4	9	3
Candoolo per garce	3	14	3
Natcheny pee garce	2	11	3
Oil seeds per garce	4	15	3

Cloth, wax, silk cloth and all other goods by weight were charged at 3¼% on valuation. No russooms or fees exclusive of the Company's duties were charged at any of the sea ports of Ganjam district. The government, usually, suspended collection of import duty on grain during harvesting seasons.[17] In all other goods the import and export were regulated with certain terms and conditions.[18] In 1791 the government abolished port duty on the coast, both for export and import goods, with a view to encourage trade and increase the company's possessions.[19] Apart from these, the government had levied 'land custom' known as 'Metapescha' on all goods exported from and imported into the district.[20] In 1798 the government abolished the collection of land custom. No custom duty was paid for goods purchased for Company's consumption. Goods of such description passed free of custom under a certificate to that effect.[21] This facility was withdrawn in 1822. All the goods belonging to the Company were charged with inland as well as sea duties.[22]

The Company collected a duty on cloth from weavers. This went in the name of 'town duty'. The weavers who had received assignment of work under company did not pay this duty. This oppressive system did not enable the common weavers to earn their livelihood.[23]

The imports into the district were not very considerable. These consisted principally raw silk, gold-thread copper, tin, spices, opium and Company's broad cloths. The staple commodities of the district were grain and cloth. Grain exportation brought a sufficient revenue to government. At one time the government desired to extend relief to encourage the traders to export grain by discontinuing the export duty, with a considerable benefit to the traders and little loss to the Company. Formerly, the custom duty on grain was from 5% to 7%.[24] With this in view, the government in subsequent years had reduced the custom duty on grain to

3%. Total abolition of sea custom on grain in 1821 did not find a favourable opinion of the Ganjam Collector, P. R. Cazelet. He held his opinion on the ground that total abolition would only help the merchants and not the ryots or riyats.[25]

The government derived the following revenue as duty on export grain from different ports of the district.

Port	*Year*	*Value of grain in rupees*	*Duty levied at 3%*
Ganjam	1815-20	66,425-8-0	1,992-12-1
Berwa	1815-20	1,74,228-3-11	5,226-9-6
Calingapatam	1815-20	5,73,186-7-0	17,195-9-6
Munsurcotta	1815-20	6,71,400-3-4	20,142-0-0
Poondy	1815-20	2,73,722-0-2	8,211-10-8
Sonepur	1815-20	67,627-9-5	2,028-13-3
		18,26,589-15-10	54,797-11-0

In 1815 the government sold 500 garces of rice at Calingapatam apprehending a general objection from the people against itself being directly engaged in commercial dealings.[26] The merchant importers paid 8% duty to the beach gumusta, when they failed to produce a certificate to the effect that they had paid duty on their goods.[27]

The geographical situation of the district Ganjam provided an ample scope to the prosperity of seaborne trade. From the ports of the district grain was exported in huge quantity. Grain exported in the years 1827-32 were of following value.

Year	*Value of Paddy*	*Raw-rice*	*Boiled rice*	*Remarks*
1827-28	1,00,656-0-0	96,893-0-0	38,244-0-0	Value
1828-29	1,47,133-0-0	3,58,529-0-0		in
1829-30	1,50,294-0-0	19,19,949-0-0	3,70,416-0-0	rupees,
1830-31	1,06,800-0-0	2,54,723-0-0	2,37,916-0-0	annas
1831-32	66,176-0-0	1,17,962-0-0	1,12,404-0-0	and
	5,71,059-0-0	10,20,056-0-0	11,16,141-0-0	paise.

In 1834-35 and 1835-36, the government realised an amount of Rs. 24,669-11-6 and Rs. 15,906-7-3 towards sea custom.[29]

In 1837 the government discontinued the levy of inland duties. By a proclamation, the government abolished collection of inland duties on 35 articles of Ganjam and Koraput. This measure gave a relief to petty traders of Southern Orissa.[30]

In 1854 the government of India attached much importance to the native fibre.[31] At this time a deficient being felt in the supply of flax and hemp in the English market, demand for fibreous substances as substitution became great. India was looked upon for meeting the demand. Among the great variety of Indian fibres, specimen of some were examined and found an honourable mention in the London exhibition of 1851. Upto this time many of the fibreous substances were wasted in large quantities from ignorance of their use.[32] The government wanted to improve free trade, culture and transport of such necessary substances. Pressed by the necessity, the government organised agricultural exhibitions at different provinces to induce people to culture those substances in a better and improved manner.[33] But the people did not realise the importance of their native products. This kept them economically backward.[34]

The Southern Orissa jungles were abounded in varieties of fibreous substances. These were valuable resources of the region. Were these developed, a considerable trade might have been established in those substances.[35] The fibreous substances which were supplied from the Southern Orissa jungles in between 1854-55, were :[36]

1.	Janoomoo flax	1,012 Mds. & 30 bales
2.	Gunny bags made of Roselle fibres	204 bales
3.	Coconut Coir	5,452 Mds.

Till 1856 there were no good road communications to different ports of Ganjam, except to Gopalpur. To this port greater portion of the produces were brought from the interior of the South Orissa region. Produces from Cuttack came through the lake Chilika.[37] Stillt the ports provided a favourable scope for the enhancement of external trade. The tonnage duty collected from these ports on different years were :[38]

Name of the Ports	*1850-51*	*1851-52*	*1852-53*	*1853-54*	*1854-55*
Ganjam	457-1-8	278-9-0	207-1-6	384-11-6	455-13-6
Munsurcotta or Gopalpur	533-1-8	369-10-6	450-14-3	345-12-6	349-3-0
Sonepur	140-15-0	97-4-6	120-14-3	222-12-0	86-4-6
Barwah	55-3-0	15-10-6	25-4-6	30- 9-6	29-4-0
Poondy	279-11-11	277-10-5	302-5-3	231-5-5	384-1-7
Calinga-patam	588-12-2	619-7-10	170-13-9	832-13-8	434-4-1
Total	1965-11-0	1658-4-9	2281-5-6	2058-0-7	1739-4-1

The 1857 Sepoy mutiny had caused an adverse effect on the trade and commerce of the country. The English government had sustained heavy loss in revenue. An increased expenditure in the war period compelled the government to seek increased resources to meet the situation. One of the resources was found in enhancement of custom duties. Government followed a policy of heavy taxation. Gradually it was reduced from 20% to 10%, 10% to 7½% and from 7½% to 5%.[39]

In normal years the export of the district exceeded to the volume of imports. But in famine years this was not the prospect of the district. Export of all kinds of grain in quantity and value exceeded to that of import in years 1862-65, but in 1866, during the period of severe famine, the

quantity and value of imported grain was more than of export. They were as under :

	Import		*Export*	
Fusli-Year	*Quantity in Mds.*	*Value in Rupees, Anna and Paise*	*Quaniity in Mds.*	*Value in Rupees, Anna and Paise*
1272-1862	10,262	20,424 0-0	6,30,695	12,61,390-0-0
1273-1863	24,327	48,634-0-0	11,97,924	23,95,848-0-0
1274-1864	21,481	61,833-0-0	5,51,330	15,21,920-0-0
1275-1865	1,20,716	7,96,233-0-0	1,01,071	4,93,013-0-0
1276-1866 (From July to October)	32,977	1,36,966-0-0	1,767	5,650-0-0

In the famine year government did not give up collection of duty either on imported or exported grain. The quantity of grain imported into the district for the period 1866 shown in the column did not include the quantity of grain imported by the government. The amount of duty collected both on import and export grain in those years was as follows :[40]

Year	*Amount*
1862	Rs. 39,425-10-1
1863	Rs. 42,819-3-3
1864	Rs. 48,846-10-11
1865	Rs. 26,121-3-8
1866	Rs. 524-11-8

In 1876-77 and 1877-78, due to famine the volume of import exceeded to that of export volume. In the following year 1878-79 trade of the district had attained its normal condition. In the said year some articles such as wine, coir, cotton raw were exempted from import duties.[41] The following table is an illustration of the export and import of merchandise and treasure from the ports of the Ganjam

district for the years 1878-79 and 1882-83[42] and the custom duty levied during 1877-78, 1878-79 and 1882-83.[43]

Sl no.	1878-79 Import	1878-79 Export	1882-83 Import	1882-83 Export
1. Trade with foreign countries :				
(a) Merchandise in rupees	28,801/-	10,99,802/-	8,936/-	17,43,194/-
(b) Treasure in rupees.	10,030/-	—	—	—
2. Trade with foreign ports of India.				
(a) Merchandise valued in rupees	1,193/-	7,048/-	1,352/-	603/-
(b) Treasure in rupees	—	—	—	—
3. Trade with British ports in other Presidencies :				
(a) Merchandise valued in rupees	7,37,014/-	4,06,981/-	9,54,891/-	12,95,052/
(b) Treasure in rupees	20,030/-	5,000/-	—	—
4. Trade between ports in the Presidency :				
(a) Merchandise valued in rupees	2,41,405/-	10,21,261/-	5,30,759/-	13,92,814/-

(b) Treasure in rupees	51,700/-	—		—
5. Total :				
(a) Merchandise valued in rupees	10,08,423/-	25,35,092/-	14,95,398/-	44,31,663/-
(b) Treasure in rupees.	32,030/-	5,000/-	—	—
(c) Percentage	1·9%			

	1877-78		*1878-79*		*1882-83*	
	Import	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*
Custom revenue of Ganjam Dist.	1,275/-	336/-	1,399/-	3,817/-	1,263/-	69,237/-

The total number of vessels which entered and cleared at all the ports of the district for 13 years ending in 1882-83 were as under.[44]

Ganjam	*Vessels entered*	*Tonns*	*Vessels cleared*	*Tonns*	*Remarks*
External trade	140	1,83,416	20	17,177	
Internai trade	138	1,81,631	170	2,13,888	

In 1882 import duties were abolished, except on few articles of special character. But at the ports, both in the native states and in the British territories, the system of internal duties existed. Gradually, a barrier known as the inland custom line was rising across the country to regulate free trade.[45] In 1888 inter-provincial traffics were established to regulate trade between provinces. To regulate trade between Southern Orissa and Central Provinces and Southern Orissa and Orissa trade traffic stations were established. They were at Rayagada, Bissumcuttack, Pottangi, Sonpur, Kalinga and at Huma. The first five stations registered trade between Southern Orissa and Central provinces and the latter one registered trade traffic between Southern Orissa and Orissa. After the establishment of these stations,

the inland and outward trade traffic registered at Rayagada, Bissumcuttack and Pottangi were :[46]

	Bissum-Cuttack	*Stations Rayagada*	*Pottangi*	*Remarks*
Registration of inroad *traffic*				Salt-
(a) Goods in maunds	1,94,958	3,83,037	4,45,079	3,49,169 ml Tobbaco
(b) Passanger in number	2,301	15,142	—	19,060 ml
(c) Animals in number	463	60	1,705	
Registration of *out-roads*				Food grain 321861 md.
(a) Goods in md.	67,130	1,20,839	5,67,877	Oilseed 196983 md. Myrabolams 31405 md.
(b) Passanger in number	2,288	12,117	—	
(c) Animal in number	181	1,622	72	

So also in the presidency internal trade was registered. Formerly, such registering stations were 25 in number. These covered 8 districts on 13 roads. They were such as :[47]

District	*No. of Roads*	*No. of Stations*
Ganjam	2	5
Vizagapatam	2	4
Kistna	3	4
Nellore	1	5
South Arcot	2	5
Tanjore	1	1
Madura and Tinnevelly	2	4

But latter the roads and stations of Ganjam were altered on the proposal of Collector. No alterations were made in respect of stations and roads of Vizagapatam for Jeypore.

Thus the traffic stations finally established in the Ganjam region wereas follows :[48]

Description of the road Ganjam district	*Location of registered station*	*Purpose*
The Trunk road	(1) On the Road to Gopalpur.	To register separate traffic towards Chatrapur and Berhampur.
	(2) At Barwa.	To register trade between Berhampur and Barwa.
	(3) At the intersection of the road by the Road from Kemedyto the Port of Pundi.	To register trade with Pundi and Kemedy.
	(4) At Nawpada, at thejunction of the road from Kemedy via Tekkali.	To register trade with Parlakhemuundi, Tekkali and Calingapatam.
	(5) At the junction of the road from Kemedy near Narsanapeta.	To register trade with Parlakhemundi, Tekkali and Calingapatam.
Aska Road	(1) At Russelkonda, at the junction of the Roads from Aska via Gangpuram and Balipadra.	To register trade with Aska and Kalinga above the ghat.
	(2) At Purushottampur on the road from Aska to Huma.	To register trade with Aska, Huma and Purushottampur.

Description of the road	*Location of registered station*	*Purpose*
	(3) Iyengelli, on the midway between Aska and Berhampur.	To register between Aska and Berhampur.
On the Road for Calingapatam to Batili via Parlakhemundi.	(1) At Heramandalam	To register trade with Tekkely, Parlakhemundi and Calingapatam.
	(2) At the junction road from Parlakhemundi and Heramandalam above Varanasi i.e. the present Kasinagar.	To register trade with Batili on one side and Parlakhemundi and Heramandalam on the other side.

No modification was made on stations and roads under Vizagapatam traffic.

Establishment of these trade traffic stations showed that a good volume of trade existed in the district. The principal articles of trade which were registered on traffic towards the coast and from the coast towards the inland of the Ganjam region annually were :[40]

Articles	*Towards coast*	*Towards inland*
Turmeric	75,790 mds.	
Oil seeds	40,826 mds.	
Hides	13,186 mds.	
Refined sugar	41,633 mds.	
Salt		1,08,054 mds.
Provisions		47,468 mds.
Food grains		14,105 mds.
Raw Sugar		82,000 mds.
Goods and etc.		12,056 mds.

From the port Gopalpur rice was exported to Ceylon in exceptional cases.[50] The import and export of Ganjam on grain for the year 1888-91 were as follows :[51]

Years	*Import in Tonns*	*Export in Tonns*
1888-89	—	475
1889-90	3,100	—
1890-91	—	16,215

The average of export and import from Ganjam for the period 1898-1903 was valued at Rs. 10,04,940/-. These included goods such as grain, rice, pulsegram, gingelly, sugar, hempraw, hides skins and coir manufactures.[52]

The region provided a favourable prospect to trade on native products. But native poverty and ignorance had a considerable setback upon the trend of internal as well as on the external trade of Southern Orissa. Most of the traders were outsiders. The earning out of these trade, though due to the labour of the native peasants, did not remain with them.[53]

Industry

During the Nineteenth Century the Europeans took great interest in the field of trade and industry in India.[54] In Southern Orissa, in 1800 J. Colley, latter a master attendant at Ganjam, established a distillery, sugar and rum manufactory at Munsurcotta. It worked successfully[55] for some years. But as the culture of sugar-cane in early years of the century was not done in plenty, the manufactory was closed. It was not until 1855 the Aska Sugar factory came into operation. In 1856 Mr. Minchin could manufacture sugar and rum successfully from his factory at Aska. He manufactured 12,000 tonns of sugar annually from his factory.[56] Gradnally the factory was raised to a state of perfection through years of experience, difficuities and loss. By 1883 the factory employed 500 persons regularly throughout the year. During the working season i.e. from March to May,

it employed 500 persons more. The regular 500 persons worked both for distillery and sugar manufacture.[57] The annual outturn of sugar was valued in amount at Rs. 5,10,594/-.[58]

During the Nineteenth Century, the Aska Sugar factory was only a profitable English factory that manufactured Sugar, Rum and Rice spirit for local consumption in Southern Orissa. The products of the factory were highly mentioned at different exhibitions in Europe.[59] Apart from the factory, Sugar was also produced locally. In quality it was equivalent to the Aska manufactory.[60]

Apart from the Sugar factory, there were six indigo factories in Ganjam district. These were found in the last years of the century. Mr. Young had owned all these factories. Most of these factories were located in the Parlakhemundi zemindary. One such factory was at Itchapur under Berhampur taluk. These factories worked successfully.[61]

Salt

Salt was the principal industry and the chief article of trade in Ganjam and it needs special mention in the history of economic development of Southern Orissa. The Eastern and the western provinces of the presidency were supplied with salt from the Ganjam pans.[62] The zemindars who were on the northern side of the Mahendra Maliahs, as a custom, purchased salt from the Itchapur salt pans.[63] But these zemindars in certain instances, in times of scarcity, had violated the custom and purchased salt from the Nowpada pans. From Nowpada pans salt was obtained on a cheaper rate than of Itchapur.[64] From the Nowpada pan, salt was usually supplied to Tekkely and Kimedy countries.[65]

The Muslim government as a policy had confined the manufacture of salt entirely to the Havellies. Soon after the

British possession, until 1805, the revenue from salt was derived differently at different places. In some cases the right to collect the revenue was auctioned to the highest bidder. In others the salt revenue was shared in varying proportions between the government and the manufacturers. In some other places a sort of excise duty was levied.[66]

In 1787 the pans of Nowpada and Womervelly were rented out for Rs. 18,273-0-0. In the following year the salt revenue of Ganjam amounted to Rs. 10,000-0-0. In these years salt at Nowpada was sold at Rs. 40/- per garce.[67]

At the outset of the century, the salt pans of Ganjam were located at nine places. They were Nowpada, Womervelly, Ganjan, Munsurcotta, Itchapur, Barvanpaud, Hooma, Paloor and Berredy. Each of these places, the pans had a capacity to produce 3,000, 350, 700, 50, 230, 200, 60, 1,000 and 50 garces of salt respectively.[68] But by the year 1821 only five out of these nine places were on working condition. They were Nowpada, Womervelly, Munsurcotta and Itchapur. The Itchapur pan did not work for some time. Its operation did not prove successful due to want of back water.[69] The work of this pan became more expensive in comparison to its production. By 1854 only at four places salt was manufactured in the district. Gradual deterioration of the salt pans had necessarily caused scarcity in the supply of salt.[70] The supply was further aggravated due to smuggling of the commodity into the Tributary Mahals of Orissa and Sambalpur.[71]

In the district, the best quality of salf was manufactured at Nawpada Salt Cotur. In substance it was whitest and hardest. Salt manufactured at Womervelly had a little quantity of dust. Salt from Ganjam Salt Cotur was soft and white.[72] In the Salt Coturs or Pans of Ganjam, Salt was produced on solar system or by evaporation.

The persons who manufactured salt were socially in the same position as the ordinary ryots. Labour in the salt pan

was not popular as the work was exceedingly hard. The work was extensively performed in the hottest season of the year. The difficulties which arose in connection with the work were in the supply of food and water.[73]

The question of originating a salt monopoly in the Madras Presidency was first noted in a letter of Govt. from the Board of Revenue dated 2.9.1799. Previous to the promulgation of the Regulation XXV of 1802, in the Northern Circars salt manufacturers were paid money. With effect of the regulation XXV of 1802, by Section IV, the government had reserved to itself the exclusive right of manufacture and sale of salt in the presidency.[74] The government considered to establish a monopoly. The Collectors preferred to levy duty on salt equivalent to the intended monopoly price. They viewed monopoly, "a measure could not be adopted with regard to the salt of foreign settlement, and that much difficulties would attend in the adjustment of a fair compensation to Mirssadars"[75] But Mr. Falconer, the first member of the Board of Revenue had opposed to the proposal of duty and was in favour of monopoly.[76] He held his opinion that the permanent revenue system recognised no proprietory right as inherent in the Mirassadars. He stated that the government had already reserved the revenue that arose from salt in all the zemindars. The Board alluded the Mirssadars as, "They are the native hereditary manufacturers of salt, or inhabitants with the conditional occupancy, and usufructuary privileges of lands in which salt is manufactured". Mr. Falconer denied that these Mirssadars or Merrissadars had any right than the zemindars who had been divested of their rights to the salt.[77]

On 29th August 1904, the government approved of the plan of monopoly. On 22nd August 1805, the Board of Revenue submitted a draft regulation which subsequently passed as Regulation I of 1805 on 13th September 1805. Thus a monopoly on salt was established. The regulation regu-

lated the revenue derivable from salt. The monopoly price of salt was fixed at 20 starpagodas or Rs. 70/- per garce.[78]

Under the system of monopoly the manufacture of salt except for sale to government was made illegal. The Board of Revenue was vested with certain powers to determine the localities of manufacture and the quantity to be produced at each season. In the year 1806 the salt and the sea custom department was transferred to the superintendence of the Board of Trade. The salt pans of Ganjam and Vizagapatam remained under the charge of a Deputy Commercial Resident.[79]

The officers employed in the salt pan were a Gumusta, a writer or a Kurunam and two weighing men. The number of these personals varied from Cotur to Cotur and was based on the work load of the pans. These personals were miserably paid.[80]

Soon after the introduction of monopoly, there was a scarcity of salt in Ganjam. A large quantity of salt was imported from Orissa to meet the demand of the local people.[81] In 1806 in the district the salt manufactured and sold was very small in quantity.[82] The following table will show the balance of salt at the beginning of the year and the quantity of manufacture and sale in the year 1806.

	Madras Garce	*Mercals*	*P*	*A*
Balance of salt at the beginning of the year 1806 in quantity	836	120	7	5
Quantity of salt manufactured to the end of the year	1376	189	3	3
Quantity sold during the period to the end of the year.	2165	231	6	6
Total value of salt	*Starragodas*	*Francs*		*Cents*
sold during the year	43,317	8		15

In 1809, at the recommendation of the Board of Revenue, the Government raised the monopoly price of salt from Rs. 70/- to Rs. 105/-.[83] At this time the manufacture of salt was on the progress. The authorities at Ganjam were able to export salt to Bengal. During the year 1810 salt exported from the district from different pans were :[84]

From Munsurcotta— 440 mds. in two vessels.

From Calingapatam— 3,840 mds. in one vessel.

In the said year the authority at Ganjam entered into agreement with merchants to deliver 345 Madras garces of salt at Calingapatam on free cost of carriage with a view to encourage exportation of salt on an increased volume.[85]

Usually, the merchants who came to purchase salt paid the price in the Collector's office. The 'Shroff' or the clerk received money and issued a 'Cadjen' or receipt to the purchaser. The purchaser had to produce the 'Cadjen' to the 'Peschar' on the salt pan to get salt. The purchaser on receipt of salt also got a pass that mentioned the quantity of salt purchased and its destination. The pass or the 'Rowanah' was intended to check fraud in the sale and smuggling of salt. Without the 'Rowanah' no salt could pass from the district. The 'Rowanah' was of the following descriptions.

1. The number of the Rowanah
2. Date of issue
3. To whom issued
4. Quantity of salt
5. Where purchased
6. Price paid
7. On what Jaden ?
   (Whether bullocks, asses, carts, boats or vessels)
8. Whither going
9. Remarks.

But with the abolition of the sayer duties under Act VI of 1844, this check was no longer required. As long as the

'Rowanah' was in operation, the police was authorised to check and verify the salt on transit. The purchasers were required to deliver the 'Rowanah' to the first chowky or police station specified therein to avoid its use any more.[86]

When the monopoly price of salt was at Rs. 105/- per garce, a reduction of Rs. 5/- was made to traders who took salt at a risk of loss in heap which were not less than ten garces.[87]

In 1815 the Government of Madras intended to export 5,00,000 (five lacs) Bengal Maunds of salt to Bengal. The quantity to be exported from Ganjam was fixed at 25,000 Bengal maunds or 208⅓ Madras garces. The Board of Revenue had instructed the local authorities to regulate the manufacture of salt according to the demand. To meet this demand, the Collector of Ganjam entered into agreements with the salt manufacturers of the district to manufacture 500 garces of salt at Nowpada and Stree Kurmum. In the said year 91 Madras garces or 10,920 Bengal Maunds of salt was exported to Bengal from the district.[88]

In between 1815-1821 the quantity of salt manufactured and sold in the district[89], apart from the above quantity.

Fusli or	*Manufactured*				*Sold*				*Value in*
A.D.	*MG.*	*M.*	*P.*	*A.*	*MG.*	*M.*	*P.*	*A.*	*Rs. A. P.*
1225 or 1815	—	—	—	—	2147	370	5	5	2,25,535-8-0
1226 or 1816	910	360	0	0	1536	171	4	1	1,61,325-3-6
1227 or 1817	734	370	0	0	1662	215	3	3	1,74,566-12-4
1228 or 1818	919	162	0	0	1984	311	0	5	2,08,401-9-8
1229 or 1819	480	316	1	4	1562	140	2	7	1,64,039-15-11
1230 or 1820	—	—	—	—	2164	326	4	0	1,51,537-2-9
1231 or 1821	—	—	—	—	2551	391	7	0	1,78,638-9-5

At the rate of Rs. 105/- per Garce or 30 Starpagodas.

In 1820 the monopoly price of salt was reduced from Rs. 105/- to Rs. 70/-.[90] The general effects on the salt trade after the reduction of monopoly price were many. First, the reduction brought a considerable reduction in the retail price of salt in different places of the district. The following table is a comparative illustration of the retail prices of salt at different places in different years and the average rate there will show the general effect in retail price before and after the reduction of monopoly price.[91]

Rate per garce during the	*In the town*								
	Berhampur			*Aska*			*Chicacole*		
Fusli or A.D.	*Rs.*	*A.*	*P.*	*Rs.*	*A.*	*P.*	*Rs.*	*A.*	*P.*
1225 or 1815	123	12	6	167	1	8	120	4	10
1226 or 1816	124	10	4	173	1	0	121	5	4
1227 or 1817	124	4	3	172	13	4	120	13	1
1228 or 1818	123	8	1	167	7	7	123	6	0
1229 or 1819	125	8	8	175	14	9	122	5	8
Total	621	11	10	856	6	4	608	2	11
Average per Garce	124	5	7	171	4	6	121	10	2
1230 or 1820									
From 12th July to 31st March, 1821	310	10	8	352	10	0	319	5	4
From April to 11th July, 1821	95	6	0	132	2	0	94	5	0

Secondly, reduction did not help the company to revive the cotton trade. The Lumbadies and the Brinjarries generally bartered salt with Cotton and Wheat.[92] To revive the cotton trade to a certain extent, and to the material benefits of the Company, a further reduction in the monopoly price became necessary.[93]

Thirdly, the reduction in general brought a scarcity of salt in the presidency. At the reduction of price, the demand for the commodity grew more by a greater number of people.[94]

The scarcity of salt in the district was occasioned by insufficient manufacture of salt in that year, The increased demand for salt compelled the local government to purchase salt from the cargoes which landed as Ganjam with salt intended for Bengal.[95]

In 1822, the Supreme Government intended to export 12 lacs of Bengal Maunds of salt from the Presidency to Bengal. The Bengal Government opined that such importation of coast salt would effect Bengal materially, unless the importation was restricted and manufacture pushed in Bengal.[96] Upon this opinion the Government exported less and the demand for coast salt consequently in Bengal fell short. The Board of Revenue, in the Madras Presidency, stopped the extra manufacture of salt at Ganjam. A large quantity of salt was in store in the Coturs of Nawapada and Itchapur. To save wastage of salt in store, the government permitted to export salt to Eastward, especially, into Orissa, at Rs. 24/- per garce.[98]

Usually, salt was sold by measure. In Ganjam a wooden measure was used instead of a basket.[99]

In 1828 Dr. Rotten advocated the compulsory sale of salt by weight. This was raised in the belief that heavy salt was synonymous with good salt and light salt with bad. Sale by weight would, therefore, conduce to the manufacture of a superior salt. The Madras Board of Revenue, however, did not support the proposition. The members of the Board did not see the way by which they could interfere with the retail dealers. They considered, 'to attempt to regulate such a matter by law would be misunderstood and would lead to all sorts of complications'. So it dropped the issue of weighment.[100]

In the said year the Board of Revenue proposed to sale salt by auction. The intention behind such a measure was that the government wanted to save itself from transport charges. The people negatived the suggestion of government

on the grounds that it would affect the poorer class and the retail dealers might create a sub-monopoly.[101] The proposal was dropped. But the monopoly price of salt was raised to Rs. 105/- per garce. The Board opined that reduction of monopoly price in 1820 was erroneous and the consumer derived no profit. Whatever profit the government derived during these years, it viewed, was due to improved management and general demand of the people for the commodity. Hence the Board did not apprehend that a return to former monopoly price would cause a diminution in the sale of salt.[102] The Board informed the Collector of the district to raise the price of salt accordingly.[103]

Generally, salt in Ganjam was produced at a cheaper rate than at Cuttack. It was one of the reasons that Cuttack salt had a high price. The cheapness and abundant manufacture of salt in Ganjam resulted smuggling of the article into Orissa. As a measure to prevent smuggling, the government desired to enhance the price payable to salt manufacturers of the district. At the same time the government thought that such a measure would help the native manufacturers to work in their district, and thus prevent their migration into Orissa.[104]

One of the causes of high price of Cuttack salt was that the Cuttack salt ryots could not skillfully produce salt as the Ganjam Ryots. They depended upon the Ganjam manufacturers whom they invited to work at their pans. These manufacturers kept better quality of salt they manufactured and threw away the bad ones into the water. This practice of choice of Ganjam manufacturers at Cuttack was responsible to keep the Cuttack salt at high price. Secondly, the Cuttack ryots repaired the Nullas or the Canals of the pans at their own cost. But the Ganjam ryots enjoyed the privilege at the cost borne by the Government.[105]

The Ganjam salt manufacturers at Cuttack received Rs. 25-10-2, to produce a Madras Garce of salt. The Cuttack

ryots spent in all Rs. 30/- to produce a Madras Garce of salt. The charges were :

1. For covering the salt heaps before they were delivered	Rs.	0	14	4
2. To Cover the wastage after the salt was delivered	Rs.	0	13	4
3 The rent of the land on which salt was produced	Rs.	2	10	2
	Rs.	4	5	10
4. Paid to the manufacturer	Rs.	25	10	2
Total	Rs.	30	0	0

But in Ganjam the ryots paid Rs. 6/- to the salt manufacturers per Madras Garce. The cost of production amounted only to Rs. 5/-. When charges such as establishment and roosooms were added, @ 1-8-0, and 0-8-0 respectively, to the government the cost of production amounted in all Rs. 7/-.[106]

The amount which the government advanced to salt ryots in Ganjam in different years for the maintenance and improvement of salt pans were as follows :[107]

Year	*Amount in Rupees*
1819	1,125/-
1820	1,270/-
1822	26,316/-
1848	200/-
1849	650/-
1850	350/-
1851	500/-
1852	800/-

But after 1854 this practice was discontinued.

Thirdly, the Ganjam salt pans were more permanent in nature than those of the Cuttack and Puri salt pans. In

Ganjam the period of manufacture of salt was longer and more assured. Here a supply of sea water was always at hand. But in Orissa the Pans were liable to be flooded. Until March of every year, the water was of such a feeble brine, that it was unfitted for the manufacture.[108]

Finally, under the monopoly in Ganjam the same pans were worked from year to year. But this was not the case in Orissa. The licensee on account of flood, frequently abandoned his enterprise or transferred in effects to elsewhere. Thus the cost of labour of preparing the Pans, which fell on the manufacturing ryots was much enhanced in Orissa.

The collection of revenue from the district on account of salt sold for home and inland consumption amounted to Rs. 8,980-11-9, in fusli 1242 or 1832 A.D. In the following year it amounted to Rs. 68,969-4-5. The disturbances in the district from 1833-36 had greatly impeded the salt trade of the district.[109]

At this time the Bengal authorities entertained an idea that salt conveyed into Sambalpur and South-Western provinces was not the salt purchased at the established coturs of Ganjam. They considered that in Ganjam salt was illictly manufactured for the trade. The Bengal authority believed that this smuggling trade in salt from Ganjam was in the hand of the Mahajans of Ryapur. To prevent these Mahajans or the Molunghees from the smuggling trade, Mr. Wilkinson of Cuttack offered them employment in the Orissa salt Pans. But they preferred to remain as Molunghees, because they derived much profit from the illicit trade in salt.[110]

In 1844, the monopoly price of salt was enhanced to Rs. 180/- per Madras garce, or Rs. 1-8-0 a maund. But the Court of Directors, on the remonstrance of the Madras Government, reduced the price in the same year to Rs. 1-0-0 a maund[111] or Rs. 120/- per Madras garce.

The quantity of salt manufactured and sold in different pans of Ganjam fusli 1262 i.e. 1852 was as follows :[112]

Pans	*Manufactured in Maunds*	*Quantity sold in Maunds*
Ganjam	1,36,222	65,919
Munsurcotta	16,539	5,426
Nowpada	2,34,876	2,63,221
Womervelly	1,35,319	41,997
Total	5,22,955	3,76,564

In the district the sale of salt was declining. There were several impediments removal of which were urged by different officials for better fiscal results. There were no store houses in the interior of the South Orissa region. The merchants who came for salt paid taxes and for this reason their frequent approach to the pans became rare. Their nnmber too became less and small. Stores in the inland would have facilitated the Government to enter into agreement with large number of private dealers who would have bought salt at the stores at a fixed rate. This facility would have attracted more number of Brinjarris as that would ended their journey at the foot of the hill, without leaving the grazing grounds. The Government considered this measure as a question of economy with most assured benefits both to the Government and the inhabitants.[113] It was open to Government either to enter upon the trade on an equal footing with the private dealers or to take the trade upon itself. With the private dealers, the trade might have resulted some pecuniary benefits to Government from their economical mode of working. Eventually, that would have resulted a transfer of trade out of the hands of the Government to that of the private traders. A new spirit in the salt trade would have resulted more to the interests of Government. The people in between the coast and the hills would have prospered much in the other relative trade. The

Government with extra sales of salt would have covered all 'Occasional losses'.[114]

But the general feeling of the Government was adverse in the establishment of stores or depots in the inland.[115]

In 1854, the Government had concentrated its work upon the subject of introducing a system of excise on salt, instead of monopoly. Many issues of salt producing districts on the supposed system were discussed. The Collector of Ganjam W. Knox proposed to rent out the Pans to the contractors for a term of years upon certain terms and conditions. The system would have encouraged a competitive spirit in the manufacture and sale of salt.[116] But the Board of Revenue with a division of opinion was in favour of imposing a duty on salt[117]

Finally, the Government discontinued the monopoly on salt and substituted a fixed duty of Rs. 0-12-0 per Indian Maund. Under this duty system the private holders were permitted to sale salt to the dealers paying Government a fixed duty. The Government, however, had reserved the right to itself to prepare and mark the salt pans. The party after manufacturing salt was required to pay the duty before it was removed to store. He was to store salt at his own risk and conveyance, The Government drew a boundary line around the place of manufacture and allowed no stores with in that boundary line and salt factory areas.[118]

In 1867, the Government enhanced the manufacture rate of salt in the district from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 9-6-0. In 1871 the Board of Revenue recommended that the rate should be made at Rs. 11-0-0 a garce, on the ground that at Puri Pans, which were within 32 miles from Ganjam, the rate was Rs. 15-0-0. The permanent rate was not uniformly adopted in the district. In Munsurcotta the rate was Rs. 9-6-0 in 1863. On the opening of the Itchapur Pan in 1862-63 the rate at Rs. 9-6-0 was adopted there. This rate was sanctioned for Nowpada in 1875, on the grounds that there was an increase

in prices and in that part of salt factory labourers for salt work were not easily obtained. Earlier to this measure, the rate of Womervelly was revised. In 1866 the rate here was raised to Rs. 9-0-0 a garce on the ground that labourers at the port of Callingapatam were better paid.[119] Thus by this period i.e. 1875, the percentage of increase in the rate for the manufacture of salt were, at Nowpada 200% and at Ganjam and Womervelly 100%. In Vizagapatam the increase in rate was 50%.[120] Upto 1861, the difference between the prices of two salts i e. the Ganjam salt and the Pooree Karkacha had not been sufficient to encourage the import of Ganjam salt into the Plains of Orissa, where a prejudice against Ganjam Salt existed. No complaints were heard of the intuision of Ganjam salt into the market of Orissa proper. But when it came to a question of selling the sun-evaporated salt at Rs. 3-8-0 per Maund in Pooree, at the same time that it could be had for Rs. 1-8-0 a Maund in Ganjam, the necessity of adopting some measure to protect the revenue leviable at the higher rate became obvious.[121]

The Bengal Board of Revenue in 1861 consulted the Madras Board of Revenue as to the possibility of raising the the duty in the Northern Districts of Madras. This suggestion was not favourably received in by the local government. In 1863 the Bengal Government again pressed the matter on the Government of India. The proposal was that the tax in Ganjam and Bengal should be equalised. The Government of India did not approve the plan. When the full duty began to be levied in Orissa, for 1863-64, the sole protection afforded to the Bengal Revenue against the influx of the lower taxed salt of Ganjam seemed to have been an injunction issued to the Collector of Ganjam to levy full Bengal duty on salt declared for Orissa.[122]

The following table will show the falling off in the sale of Orissa salt, in the outside market, outside the limits of

Orissa proper. Its place was occupied by the supply of salt of Ganjam and Vizagapatam.[123]

Statement showing sales in Maunds for Orissa

Year	*Balasore*	*Cuttack*	*Pooree*	*Total*
1857-58	1,43,854	1,18,439	3,74,899	6,36,922
1858-59	1,33,497	1,98,674	3,13,458	6,45,629
1865-66	25	60,980	2,64,921	3,15,926
1870-71	93,481	22,223	1,37,480	2,53,184
1874-75	1,45,677	16,289	2,47,717	4,09,683
1875-76	1,57,978	12,806	1,68,068	3,38,852

Statement showing sales in Maunds for Ganjam and Vizagapatam

Year	*Ganjam*	*Vizagapatam*	*Total*
1857-58	6,92,986	1,72,700	8,65,686
1859-60	6,78,598	1,76,139	8,54,737
1865-66	8,78,388	2,12,782	10,91,170
1870-71	7,74,921	1,77,922	9,52,481
1874-75	7,46,804	2,79,695	1 ,26,499
1875-76	9,57,386	3,33,362	12,91,248

A preventive cordon was drawn between Pooree proper and Ganjam to check illicit exportation of Ganjam salt. This could not check the illicit trade for in the year 1870-71 about 74,526 maunds of Ganjam salt passed into Orissa through different routes. For general exportation of salt to Central provinces through Orissa, the Bengal Government claimed full Bengal duty on Ganjam salt. The Supreme Government supported the view of the Bengal Government on the ground that it might 'Possibly be nccessary to take steps as would effectually close to Ganjam lower taxed salt ; the country which ought to be occupied be the highly taxed salt of the country north of the line'.[124]

But under Act of 1874, the Supreme Government observed that, 'Under the arrangement there is legalised, all

interference with the import of salt for the Presidency Fort St. George by law into territories under the Government of Bengal would close to be necessary'. The Bengal Government did not interpret this to imply that Ganjam salt imported into Orissa was exempted from sale rules passed under the Bengal Salt Act of 1864. Certain rules were substituted for the purpose of the Government of India, for the transit of Ganjam salt in Bengal territories. But the Supreme Government of India did not approve these rules. This involved the local authorities to solve the issue with which Ganjam salt in Orissa was to be complied.[125]

In 1875-76 the total area occupied for salt works in Ganjam was 236.62 acres. In the presidency it was 2,741.22 acres.[126]

In the year 1887-88, in the Presidency a number of salt factories were opened to remedy the evils of high prices and inadequate stocks of salt. This measure resulted a transfer of manufacture from common people to capitalists under excise system. The Government reserved a stock in salt not for distribution in the market.[127] Salt manufactured under excise system was intended for sales. Salt produced in Ganjam both under Government and excise system from 1893 to 1900 were as follows.[128]

Statement showing the salt manufactured and sold at different factories in the years 1893-1900.

Ganjam and Surala

	Factory at			
	Ganjam		*Surala*	
Year	*Manufactured*	*Sold*	*Manufactured*	*Sold*
1893-94	77,679	4,34,126	3,515	2,13,301
1894-95	5,80,423	4,25,488	2,12,937	1,35,455
1895-96	5,87,338	3,86,241	2,09,822	1,54,238
1896-97	5,16,102	3,10,978	3,51,599	1,48,582
1897-98	6,58,458	3,72,622	2,84,029	1,56,286
1898-99	4,02,614	5,50,401	1,60,732	1,11,585
1899-1900	5,81,084	6,97,976	—	1,09,229

Calingapatam and Nowpada

Year	Factory at Ganjam Manufactured	Sold	Surala Manufactured	Sold
1893-94	45,787	2,02,753	—	1,33,014
1894-95	1,97,641	1,80,835	—	1,40,858
1895-96	1,81,853	1,38,886	2,45,066	1,81,344
1896-97	2,96,804	1,65,134	—	2,14,287
1897-98	2,77,080	2,12,412	6,81,192	2,03,377
1898-99	94,786	1,87,954	3,49,991	3,40,806
1899-1900	2,85,364	1,66,645	—	—

N.B. This statistic of manufacture of salt and sales included both the Government and Excise salt. Salt under Excise was meant to the sales for home and inland consumption.

During the year 1897-98 in the Presidency there were 59 factories at work of these 18 belonged to the Government and 41 to private establishments. The fish curers got salt on cheaper rate under a special regulation.[120]

The British Government had considered the item of salt as the best and easiest item for revenue collection. Throughout the Nineteenth Century, whenever, there was any need for more collections they used to increase the monopoly price or the duty on it.

REFERENCES

1. Report of the Circuit Committee on the Revenue and resources of Ganjam dated 24.4 1788, pp. 15-16.
   (a) Mr. Oram's report on the Nandapur Jeypore, 1784; p. 3 (Printed).
2. Letter from Charles Smith, Chief and Council, Ganjam, to the Hon. A. Wynch, President and Governor in Council, Fort St. George, Dated 28th August, 1774, p. 103. (Vol. 427, Ganjam Factory Records, T.N.A.M).
3. The Parlakhemundi zemindary, p. 18.
4. Third report on Ghumsur by G. E. Russell, dated 11.5.1837, p. 13.
5. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, p. 125.
   (a) Report of Capt. J. Campbell, dated 16-1-1842, p. 7, (R.M.A.).
6. Ibid, p. 7.
   (a) Letter from H. Spottswood, Collector, Ganjam to the Preeident and Members Board of Revenue, dated 27th July, 1817, p. 21 (Vol. 797/19150 G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
7. Fifth Report, pp. 153-154.
   (a) Letter from Peter Cherry, Collector, Ganjam, to John Hodgson, Secretary to Special Commissioner, Fort, St. George, Dated 13-11-1802, pp. 130-131, (Vol. 781, Ganjam District Rev. General Correspondence, T.N.A.M.).
   (b) Letter from P. R. Cazalet, Collector, Ganjam to the President and members of Board of Revenue, Dated 4-1-1820, p. 2, (Vol. 801/10154, Letters sent in the Revenue Department for the year 1820, General Correspondence, G.D.R. T.N.A.M.).

8. Ganjam Record of Proceedings dated 13th March, 1790, pp. 82-102, (Vol. 700, G.D.R T.N.A.M.).
9. Mr. Oram's report on Jeypore-1784, p. 3, (Selection No. LXXXI).
10. Letter from Charles Smith, Chief and Council, Ganjam to A. Wynch, Esq., President and Governor in Council Fort St. George, dated 8th December, 1774, p. 205, (Vol. 724-GDR-T.N.A.M.).
11. Letter from the Board of Revenue, to Moragam Williams, Chief and Council at Ganjam, dated 7th December, 1788, p. 128, (Vol. 736, G.D R.T.N.A.M.).
    (a) Public notice by Thomas Snodgrass, Secretary to Chief and Council dt. 21-12-1788, p. 129, (Vol. 736, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
    (b) General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 31st January, 1789, p. 45.
    (c) Ganjam Record of Proceedings, March, 1790, p. 81, (Vol. 700, G.D.R.T.N.A M.).
12. Letter from R. Hughes, Sea Customer, to Robert Maunsell, Chief and Council at Ganjam, pp. 375-381, (Vol. 727, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
    (a) Letter from Moragam Williams, to Hon. Sir A. Campbell, President and Member, Board of Revenue, dated 31st October, 1788, p. 122, (Circuit Committee Record).
13. Ibid., p. 122.
14. Statement of Robert Duncan Munro, dated 28th October, 1788, pp. 122-123, (Circuit Committee Record).
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ganjam Record of Proceedings, March, 1790, p. 83, (Vol. 700, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
18. Proceeding of the Chief and Council, Ganjam, Civil Deptt. I, pp. 41-42, (Vol. 701).

19. Letter from Charles Oakley, to Henry Crawford, Resident at Ganjam, dated 10th Sept., 1791, pp. 153-157 (Vol. 702, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
20. Report of the Circuit Committee on the Revenue and Resqurces of Ganjam, dated 24-4-1788, p. 16.
    (a) Ganjam Record of proceedings, March, 1790, p. 83 (Vol. 700, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
21. Letter from the Board of Revenue to W. Andrew Scott, Collector in 3rd division of Vizagapatam district, dt. 10th April, 1798, (Vol. 741, G.D.R.T-N.A.M.).
22. Letter from D. Hill, Secretary to Government to the President and Members of Board of Revenue, dated 10th December, 1822, p. 79 (Vol. 3897, G.D.R.T.N.-A.M.).
23. Letter from H. Spottiswood to the Commercial Resident, Ganjam, dated 6th July, 1810, p. 293, (Vol. 790, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
24. Report of the Circuit Committee on the Revenue and Resources of Ganjam, dated 24-4-1788, p. 16.
25. Letter from R. R. Cazalet, Collector, Ganjam, to the Board of Revenue, dated 20th January, 1821, pp. 16-17, (Vol. 3904, General Correspondence, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
26. Letter from J. Henbury, Secretary, Board of Revenue to Collector, Ganjam, dt. 30-1-1815, p. 25, (Vol. 815, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
27. Letter from J. Colley, Sea Customer, to P.R.Cazalet Collector, Ganjam. dt. Gopalpur 12-3-1825, p. 79, (Vol. 3899, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
28. From Collector, Ganjam, to the President and Members Board of Revenue, dt. 19-12-1832, p. 12, (Vol. 3916, GDRTNAM).
29. Index No. 86/1837, p. 87, (Selection from the records of Ganjam Collector).

30. Letter from the Secretary to Govt. of India, dated 21st June, 1837, pp. 70-71 (Ibid.).
31. Selection from the Records of Madras Government, No. XXIII, Public Department, No. 954, pp. 131-136.
32. Ibid.
33. Letter from William Knox, Esq., Acting Collector, Ganjam to J. D. Sim, Esq., Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, dt. 30-1-1857, p. 148 (Selection No. XIV).
34. Letter from Robert Davidson, Acting Principal Asst. Collector, to the Collector, Ganjam, William Knox, dt. 13-12-1856, Lr. No. 350, p. 151, (XIV).
35. Letter from Henry Thurburn, Executive Officer, Russelkonda, to W. Knox, Collector, Ganjam, dt. 6th December, 1854, p. 8, (Selection No. XXIII).
36. Letter from W. Knox, Acting Collector, Ganjam to B. Cunliffee, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, dated 14-5-1855, pp. 3-6 (Selection No. XXIII).
37. Report of a tour of professional inspection of the Northern Littiral district of the Madras presidency, made by F. C. Cotton, Superintending Engineer, April 1856, Northern Circle, with observation thereon made by C. E. Faber, Chief Engineer, Department of Public Works, 1856, pp. 11-12, (O.S.A., R-III, I/1003).
38. Ibid., Appendix, 'C', p. 47.
39. The Indian Empire, Vol. III, (The Imperial Gazetteer of India) (Economics).
40. A short account of the Ganjam famine of 1866, p. 27, Table 'A' by an officer of the district.
41. Madras Administrative report for the year 1878-79, pp. 151-167.

42. Ibid, pp. 183-185.
43. Ibid.
44. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 330, T. No. 7.
45. The Indian Empire, Vol. III, p. 263.
46. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue for the month of October, 1891, No. 642, dt. 8-10-1891.
47. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, dated 8th October, 1891, No. 642.
48. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, dated 29th August, 1888, No. 453, Appendix II.
49. Proceeding of the Board of Reveuue, October, 1891, No. 642.
50. Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency for the year 1898-99, Ch. III, p. 69.
51. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, dated 6th August, 1891, No. 494, p. 10.
52. Gazetteer of Ganjam district, Appendix XXV, p. 40.
53. Economic History of India (Victorian age) by R. C. Dutta, p. 536.
54. Modern India and the West by D. S. S. O. Malley, pp. 697-699.
55. Statement of services of J. Colley, Esq., Master attendant of Ganjam at Munsurcotta, dated 25th December, 1832, p. 257 (Vol. 3916, G.D.R.T.N.A.M).
56. Report of a professional inspection made by F. C. Cotton, p. 24 (O.S.A., R. III, 1/1003).
57. Statistical return of Industries in the presidency for 1883, Vol. II, p. 502.
58. The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, Appendix, LXXXIX, p. 502.
59. The Imperial Gazctteer of India by W. W. Hunter, Vol. IX, p. 53.
60. From Robert Davidson, Esq., Acting Principal, Assistant Collector and Officiating President of the

General Agriculture exhibition, to W. Knox, Esq., Collector, Ganjam, dated 2-1-1857, p. 162, (Selection No. XIV).

61. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, dt. 16-7-1890, No. 211.

62. Standing Information regarding administration of the Madras Presidency by S. S. Iyenger, pp. 336-337.

(a) Letter from Haugh Spothswood, Collector, Ganjam, to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, dated 27th July, 1817, p. 21 (Vol. 797/19150, Record of the letters sent in the Rev. Deptt., and GDR-TNAM).

63. Letter from H. Maxwell, to M. Williams, Chief and Council at Ganjam, dt. 18th April, 1788, p. 18 (Vol. 736, GDRTNAM).

64. Minute of M. Williams, p. 19 (Vol. 736, GDR-TNAM).

65. General report of the Board of Revenue, dated 31-1-1789, p. 45.

66. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, Appendix XII, p. 79.

67. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, pp. 171-173.

68. Letter from W. Knox, Collector, Ganjam to W. H. Balley, dated 26th May, 1854, Appendix 'S' (Selection from the records of Madras Govt. No. XVI, T.N.A.).

69. Letter from Nathenil Webb, Manager and Collector, Ganjam Havelly, to Thomas Snodgrass, Resident Ganjam, dated 4th July, 1792, p. 11, (Vol. 739, GDR-TNAM).

(a) Letter from Snodgrass to N. Webb, dated 8-1-1792, p. 11, (Vol. 739, GDRTNAM).

(b) Letter from R. Bayard, Collector, Ganjam to the President and Member of Board of Revenue, dt. 9-3-1827, p. 38, (Vol. 3910, Records of letters sent in the Rev. Deptt. during the management of Robert Bayard, Collector, Ganjam, 1827, GDRTNAM).

70. Ibid.

71. Letter from W. H. Balley, Secretary, Board of Revenue, dated 17-6-1854, p. 47 (Selection No. XVI, TNA).

72. Letter from P. R. Cazalet, Collector, Ganjam to the President and members of Board of Revenue, dated 30-7-1821, pp. 214-215, (Vol. 3904, GDRTNAM).

73. The System and Practice of Salt administration in India, p. 9, (Vol. A.S.O.B. 386 T.N.A).

74. Selection from the Records of Madras Government, No. XVI, pp. 6-7.

75. Selection from the Records of Madras Government, No. XVI, pp. 6-7.

76. Minute of Mr. Falconer dated 28th June, 1804, Appendix 'B' (Selection No. XVI).

77. Selection No. XVI, p. 8.

78. Selection No. XVI, p. 9.

79. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dated 13th November, 1806, pp. 32-33 (Record of Board of Revenue Correspondence, Vol. 7, T.N.A.M).

(a) Imperial Gazetteer of India by W. W. Hunter, Vol. IX, p. 54.

(b) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, App. XII, p. 54.

80. Letter from Robert Alexander to President and Member of Board of Revenue dated 12th May, 1808, pp. 188-189 (Vol. 787-19140, Record of Proceeding of Robert Alexanders, Esq. Collector, Ganjam from 1st October, 1807, Vol. II, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.),

81. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, p. 205.
82. Latter from Robert Alexander, to the President and Member of Board of the Revenue dated 24th January, 1807, pp. 145-146. (Vol. 786, G.D.R.-T.N.A.M.)
83. Selection No. XVI, p. 10.
84. Letter from H. Spottiswood, Collector Ganjam to Campbell dated 30th January, 1811, p. 30.
85. Letter from Collector, Ganjam to the President and Members Board of Revenue dated 5th January, 1811, pp. 10-11 (Vol, 791, G.D.R. T.N.A.M.).
86. Selection No. XVI, p. 44.
87. Letter from P. R. Cazalet Collector, Ganjam to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue. Dated 24. 11. 1820, pp. 321-322 (Vol. 891-G.D.R-T.N.A.M.).
    (a) Letter from R. Clark, Secretary, Board of Revenue, to Collector, Ganjam dt. 11. 12. 1820, p. 322 (Vol. 801-G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
88. Letter from the Board of Revenue dated 22. 12. 1814 (A Madras Garce is equivalent to 120 Bengal Maunds).
    (a) Letter from J. Hanbury, Secretary, Board of Revenue to Collector, Ganjam dt. 16. 1. 1815, pp. 16-17.
89. Letter from P. R. Cazalet, Collector, Ganjam to the President and member of Board of Revanue, dt. 22.9.1821, p. 269, Dt. 6. 5. 1820, pp. 19-20(Vol. 3904, G.D.R.T.N.A.M).
    (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue dt. 5. 1. 1824, pp. 218-221.
90. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 3. 1. 1822, p. 224.

91. Letter from P. R. Cazalet, Collector, Ganjam to to the President and members of Board of Revenue, dt. 10. 1. 1822, p. 6 (Vol. 3905-G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
92. Letter to Edward Saunders, Esq., President and member Board of Revenue, from Andrew Scott, Collector, Chicacole, dated 13th December, 1798, pp. 832-833 (Vol. 741-Ganjam Factory Record, T.N.A.M.).
93. Letter from J. C. Morris, Deputy Secretary, Fort St. George, to Collector, Ganjam, Dt. 1-9-1823, p. 352 G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
94. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 3rd January, 1822, pp. 192-194 (Vol. 30-T.N.A.).
95. Letter from P. R. Cazalet, Collector, Ganjam to the President and Member, Board of Revenue dated 15 11. 1850. (Vol. 801 G D.R.T.N.A.M.), p. 309.
96. Letter from R. Clark, Secretary, Revenue Department to Collector, Ganjam dt. 21. 2. 1822, p. 80 (Vol. 3896- G.D.R T.N.A.M).
97. Letter from J. Dent, Secratery, Board of Revenue, to Collector, Ganjam dt. 17 1. 1825, pp. 18-19 (Vol. 3898, G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
98. Letter Mr. J. Dent, Secretary, Board of Revenue, to Collector, Ganjam dt. 10. 10. 1825, p 341 (Vol. 3899-G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
99. Ibid, p. 347.
100. Report of the Salt Committee, pp 72-73 (A.S.O-B-388-T.N.A.).
101. Selection from the Records of Madras Government, No. XVI, p. 30 (A.S.O. B-298-TNA).
102. Minutes of Consultation dated 20th June, 1828, (Vol. 3802-G.D.R.T N.A.M), p 201.
103. Letter from A. Robertson, Deputy Secretary, Fort St. George to Collector, Ganjam dated 23rd June, 1828, p. 201 (Vol. 3902- GDRTNAM).

104. Letter from D. Elliot, Secretary, Revenue Department to Cellector, Ganjam dated 27th November, 1828, p. 340 (Vol. 3902- GDRTNAM).
    (a) Letter from H. Spottswood, Collector, Ganjam to the President and members of Board of Revenue dated 18. 10. 1813, pp. 286-287 (Vol. 793/19146-GDRTNAM).
105. Memorandum of questions and answers received from different outstations frcm Revenue Deptt. to Collector, Ganjam dt. 27. 11. 1828. pp. 340-341 (Vol. 3902, GDRTNAM).
106. Ibid, p. 341.
    (a) From W. H. Balley, Secretary, Board of Revenue, to Collector, Ganjam dt. 17. 6. 1854.
107. Letter from P. R. Cazalet, Collector, Ganjam to President and Member Board of Revenue dated 22.5.1820, p. 116. (Vol. 801-GDRTNAM).
    (a) Selection No. XVI, p. 27.
    (b) Letter from R. Clarke, to the Collector in Ganjam District dt. 17. 5. 1824, p. 158 (Vol. 3898-GDRTNAM).
108. Report of the Madras Salt Commission, 1876, pp. 209-213.
109. General report of the Right Hon. Sir F. Adams, Governor in Council dated 25th July, 1836.
    (a) Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dated 22.6.1837.
110. Letter from G. M. Ogilive, Collector, Ganjam to the Salt Agent in Cuttack dated 18th January, 1834. p. 15 (Vol. 3928, GDRTNAM).
111. Report of the Madras Salt Commission, 1876, p. 11 (A.S O.B-387 TNA).
112. Selection No XVI, pp. 112-115, Appendix I.
113. Professional observation made by F. C. Cotton. pp. 37-38.

114. Ibid, p. 39.
115. Report of the Madras Salt Commission, p. 31.
116. Selection No. XVI, Appendix 'S', Letter from W Knox to W. H. Balley, Secretary, Board of Revenue dated 26.5.1854, p. 200.
117. Minute of J. Golding Ham, Esq., Second Member, Board of Revenue, and S. Maltby, Esq., Third Member of the Board of Revenue, Dt. 10th April and 24th June, 1854 respectively, pp. 182-184 and 190. (Vol. Selection No. XVI, App. 'Q' and 'R').
118. Selection No. XVI, p. 181. Rules for regulating the depot sales by F. N. Maltby, Collector, Canara.
119. Report of the Madras Salt Commission, 1876, p. 24 (A.S.O.B-387-TNA).
120. Ibid.
121. Report of the Madras Salt Commission 1876, p. 208.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid, p. 209, (1876-Madras).
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid, Appendix 'A', pp. XXX-XXXI.
127. Statement exhibiting the normal and materials progress and condition of India during the year 1897-98, Ch. V, pp. 63-64 (A.S.O.-A-133, No. 34, TNA).
128. Ganjam District Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 36, Appendix XXII.
129. Ibid.
130. Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1897-78, Chapter V, pp. 63-64 (A.S.O.A-137, No. 134, TNA).

7 SOCIAL REFORMS

Meriah Sacrifices

The Kondhs of Southern Orissa were not free from the charges of Meriah sacrifice or human sacrifice and female infanticide. The numerous barbarous races in the Eastern and Western ghats were also involved in the crime of female infanticide. They were such as the Toads of the Nilgirris, the Koles and the Santals of Orissa and Bengal, the Meris and the Bheels of Rajputana and various other races in different degrees. It was believed that there were two races among whom the crime of Meriah was traced in highest degree. They were the Kondhs and the Maris[1].

The Britishers called the sacrifice in the name of Meriah. The word was probably derived from the Kondh word 'Mervi' or 'Merivi'[2]. When the sacrifice was performed by the Kondhs, it was called 'Meriah'. But when the sacrifice was intended by the king, it was known as 'Junna'. 'Junna' was the sacrifice made to the goddess Monikisore.[3] The hill Rajas of Orissa performed the sacrifice under different forms and names. The Rajas of Boudh and Ghumsur had admitted the performance of the sacrifice in their estates. In 1836 there arose a strong ground of suspicion that the Raja of Moherry had offered a victim in the hill temple (Kalua) near Berhampur. At this time the practice of sacrifice was at great height in the Jeypore and Bustar countrfes.[4]

The notorious practice, in the pre-British period prevailed widely among the Rajas and Kondhs of Southern Orissa. The tract within which the sacrifice prevailed was from 19°.20′ to 20°.30′ North and 85°.30′ East. But within these limits, there were several extensive places where the sacrifice was never practised. They were such as the infanticidal tribes of Surada and Chinakimedy the non-sacrificing tribes of Sarungarah, Kurtili, Nowgam, Digi and numerous other Oriya tribes found in the Kondh country or areas. But among the sacrificing tribes female infanticide was not unknown. They occasionally destroyed their female offspring.[5]

It was snpposed that the crime of Meriah had been originated from their religious belief. Among the Kondhs the Taripenu sect were in the habit of making the sacrifice. This sect believed that the destinies of men were under the control of the Earth Goddess. To get her favour, sacrifice was a necessary to them.[6] In the Jeypore region the Kotia Kondhs offered the sacrifice to the goddess 'Sankari' or 'Jenkari' with a view to get good crops. Sankari was believed to be the wife of God Siva.[7]

Generally, the sacrifice the Kondhs performed was on the full moon day in the month of Pusum and Murugum, relative to the months of December and January. But it was performed at any time following eight days of any full moon day to evert any misfortune and in certain exceptional cases. As such, the sacrifice was performed at any season.[8] In the Jeypore tract the sacrifice was generally performed on Sunday either preceeding or following the Pongal festival.[9]

The practice of sacrifice was at different places. Totemic culture was deep rooted in the mind of the people, especially among the Kondhs. It took the shape of an Elephant in the Chinakimedy tract and that of a peacock in the Ghumsur and Boudh Agency areas.[10] The human sacrifice was made either by an individual or by a joint effort of the villagers or

several individuals. The associative character of the sacrifice was marked on the festive days of the tribe and on certain occasions of social importanee.[11]

Generally, the victim of the sacrificc was purchased. The Kondhs when in distress sold their children. There was no bar to caste, sex, age and creed, and so the victim might belong to any caste and creed. When the victim was Kondh, he was not sacrified by his own men and in his own village. In that case either the victim was exchanged or sold to other villagers. Generally, grown men were preferred for the sacrifice. The reason was that rearing of children for the purpose became most costly.[12] There was price fixed for different persons and it consisted of about forty articles.[13] The victim until sacrifice led a free life and no obstructions were placed to fulfil his material desires.[14] The mode of killing the victim varied from place to place.[15] At the time of killing, the victim was intoxicated from wine.

Till 1836 the Britishers knew nothing about the sacrifice. It was brought to light by G. E. Russell. Captain J. Campbell, an Assistant Collector had drafted a letter of proposal for its suppression.[16] The proposal was approved by the acting Collector. Before government could take any action in the matter the local authorities did not fail to convey the Kondhs the intention of the government. That the sacrifice of the human victims would no longer be tolerated by the government did not go unopposed.

The first measure of the authorities to prevent the sacrifice was based on the policy of persuasion. As such all the chiefs and Moliks were called together and were ordered to bring the persons whom they might have bought for the purpose of sacrifice. The Chiefs and the Moliks had denied of having any such persons with them. But Campbell's administrative ability and curiousness enabled him to obtain certain informations beforehand about the place of sacrifice and source of their being purchased. This knowledge led the

Chiefs and the Moliks to disclose of their possessions. Thus some Meriah victims were rescued from the risk of being sacrificed.[17]

In absence of any definite policy from the side of government, Campbell had followed his own. A policy of persuasion was the best mode adopted by him in order to convince the preparators of the human sacrifice to abandon the horrible crime by peaceful means before force was used.[18] The Chiefs who had little hold over the Kondhs were looked upon as proper media to bring the Kondhs to a reasonable state of mind. To crush these people by the use of force was not accepted by Russell. The local authorities laid great emphasis on constant persuasion and wise management of the situations to effect an internal change in the Kondhs' outlook.[19]

Persuasion and precautionary measures were inevitable. For the success of the latter, Campbell had arranged some reporters to ascertain the names of different Chiefs who had Meriahs and the places of sacrifice. Secondly, he had to deal strongly against the procurers of human victims. Thus a strong administrative vigilence was a necessity to the success of the Meriah mission during the first phase of the Meriah missions work. The help of the local Chiefs and Bissoys became more necessity to the work of the Meriah mission. Without the interference of some influential Bissoys and Chiefs, the objecf of Meriah mission might have been delayed by a number of years and became more terrific than the war of Ghumsur. These men became responsible to create an atmosphere of persuasion.[20] The Chief Bissoy Bahadur Baksi, Utam Sing Dolabehera and Panda Naik of Baibali rendered their valuable service in the cause of the Meriah mission. These men had expressed their opinion for a general proclamation of the government forbidding the Meriah sacrifice on pain of severe punishment. These persons were reasonable in their approach. But the Kondhs opposed

both to the proposal of the Bissoys and to the intention of the government.[21]

The Bissoys, further, pleaded to put government officers in their forts. This was not unreasonable. The effect would have been produced by way of demonstration of the determination of the government. People would have been yielded to the desires of the government out of fear. But the circumstances were not favourable to the local authorities to adopt such a measure to the immediate advantage of both, The practice did not cease, and the policy of persuasion had not the effect anticipated. This made him to believe that unless more decided measures were adopted, there would be no end to the sacrifice. In 1841 two children were sacrificed. One of the preparators was Joondo Molik of Kumparakupa and the other was Raso Molik of Kurmingia. At this instances Campbell had recovered 11 victims. These included both male and female who were between 3 to 13 years old. By this time Campbell had rescued in all 125 victims from the Ghumsur Kondhs since 1838.[23]

The policy of persuasion created confusion among the Kondhs. It gave two general impressions among them. They believed that government had no intention to interfere in their religious rite. The authority believed that there would be a probable war as the object would not be accomplished without hurting the sentiments of the people.[23] Whatever impressions were created among the Kondhs soon faded away. There were band of human purchasers and they were not brought under any law of punishment. The Kondhs' poor economy and degraded social life encouraged the purchasers to buy Meriahs in a higher price in a spirit of competition. Unrestrained supply of the Meriah victims provoked to them to return to the sacrifice and violate the pledge of refrainment which they entered with the Meriah mission in former years.[24]

In 1842 Campbell left for the China regiment and was

succeeded by Capt. Macpherson. Macpherson had the knowledge of the hills from his survey duty. Like his predecessor, he followed a policy of discussion and persuasion in every point connected with their religion and every other situations and the relation of the Kondhs with government. He began his work with an object to ascertain clearly their ideas and feelings towards the government on its Meriah abolition programme, and to communicate the Kondhs a few distinct views of the government on this point. In this regard Macpherson had some success. The first result of his effort brought him a change in the people of Baromutha. These people had agreed to discontinue the practice of sacrifice upon certain conditions. They had put that as long as the Knodhs of Hozoghore were allowed to continue the practise of sacrifice, they would not abstain from their sacred rite. While the Kondhs of Atharamutha had agreed to relinquish the practice provided they received protection from government to their safety.[25]

The government did not approach these people with determination. Personal persuasion and contact could not bring them to a reasonable state of mind. Often this resulted in the Kondhs an attitude of challenge and temptation to perform the rite by competition. This involved them in their social question and became a prestigious issue. For this reason the Bissoys and the mutha heads avoided the agent of the Meriah mission and helped the Kondhs secretly in their performance of the sacrifice. A tendency to dominate the other by such ungratitious sacrifice became more apparent. It rose on a sectrian and social challenge rather on a consideration for a religious necessity.[26]

In the year 1843 Macpherson rescued 113 victims. Nearly two-third of these were from Atharamutha, about a dozen from Baremutha and the rest were from the Chokapad and Tentuligada. In the said year Syam Bissoy, the Bissoye of Hozoghoro, authorised a sacrifice and this Macpherson could

not prevent.[27] In the following year he had rescued 142 victims of whom many were Kondhs and Panos, except two Hindu Brahmin children from the country bordering the ghats. The undiminished number in the sacrifice of the human victims and increasing attitude of the Kondhs to the performance of the rite was attributed to the inadequate number of staff to prevent the rite and to the indifferent attitude of the government.[28]

The means which the agent of the Meriah mission sought were the appointment of a company of sappers, construction of Bunglows and roads intersecting the Kondh villages in the hills. These would have produced a moral effect upon the rude Kondhs and signified the authority of the government over them and also would have revealed the intention of the government to maintain the work permanently. The bunglows would have served as a place of safety for the rescued Meriahs. In this regard the effect of the Kurmingia bunglow was already felt. The construction of bunglows were urged one of the positive means to check the sacrifice of human victims.[29] The company government did not sanction the appointment of sappers untill 1845.

Until 1845 the object of the Meriah mission was to make the Kondhs the agent of their own civilization. This was due to the application of humanitarian principles of the west by a Western Government acting on the dictates of its own conscience and sense of obligation towards the aboriginals.[30] This became evident with the establishment of the 'Meriah agency' in December 1845 under the Act XXI of 1845. The Agency was headed by Capt. Macpherson with three assistants to aid and work with him in the cause of Meriah.[31]

Progress under the Meriah Agency

Soon after the formation of the Meriah Agency Capt. Macpherson proceeded to Boudh in February 1846 to work in that Zemindary. The Raja of Boudh did not cooperate

with the work of the Agency. Macpherson was not discouraged at this instance. He met the Kondhs and convinced them of the cruelty of the rite. The result was that in seven days he rescued 170 victims. But this success was momentary. The Kondhs suddenly held secret meetings and rose in rebellion. On 14th March, 1846 all the Kondhs had demanded the restoration of their Meriahs. They expressed that they had no desire to revert back to the practice. But their unconditional delivery of their Meriahs to the Agent implied unconditional surrender of their rights to government. Macpherson with his active diplomacy entrusted the victims to the Rajá of Boudh and had wisely averted a moral defeat of the government.[32]

The Boudh Kondhs viewed it a partial success over the government. This event did not keep them idle. On the other hand, they concentrated thetr effort in inciting their neighbours to fight in the similar manner. But they were not successful due to frequent intervention of the Meriah Agent in those areas, especially, in Ghumsur and Chinakimedy tracts [33]

Use of force became a common feature of the Meriah Agency, wherever it became necessary. This brought some charges against Macpherson, Assistant Surgeon Mr. Cadenhead and Lt. Pinkney. These officers were suspended. In latter years the charges against these officers were proved unfounded. During these gap years the work of the agency was undertaken by General Dyce, till the arival of Col. Campbell with Capt. Mac Viccar as his assistant in 1847.[34]

At this period i.e. 1847, Chokro Bissoy was in rebellion. The Bissóys of Chokapad in collusion with the Raja of Angul rose in rebellion. In such situation preparations were Majro Molik, Sengo, Gillo, and Raso Molik in Atharmutha. A girl for that purposé was brought and as Meriah she received the approval of their supposed deity. A date was appointed for the sacrifice.[35] But timely information enabled Campbell to

capture for confederators of the sacrifice, after a little engagement of troops.[36]

While this was the state of affairs in the Ghumsur area, things were different at Boudh. The rebel leader Chokro Bissoy, in order to unite all the Kondhs against the British, had promised them of their uninterrupted sacrifice. This encouraged most of the Kondhs to retain their victims ready for the purpose. The question of Meriah was now at issue. The Raja of Boudh endeavoured to persuade them to restore the Meriahs which they got back in 1846. But the Kondhs in most positive manner had refused to return those Meriahs. The struggle was about to ensure and settle whether the government would or would not enforce its will.[37] The Agency had no other alternatives except to rely on force. It had occupied as many important points as possible. The intention was to demonstrate the strong will of the government and thereby to prevent the probable rite of the sacrifice. The first target of the Meriah agency were the muthas of Domnoingi and Ruttubare. This resulted in the opposition of the Bissoys and the ultimate result was desertation of the villages by the force of the Meriah agency. This destructive demonstration did not last long and soon the Bissoys realized the imminent danger and approached the Meriah Agent for an amicable settlement.[38]

In this situation the government had manifested its determination to produce an acknowledged effect upon the Kondhs. The Bissoys of influence were reduced to submission and they were convinced that it was not a partial business of the government. That what had been exacted from them would be exacted in like manner from all. This was certainly to the astonishment of many. The result was that every influential men in Boudh had completely submitted their due obedience to the will of the government. The Agency was successful.[39]

In the year 1849 in the Mahasingy area Campbell had

found 100 purchased Meriah victims. Several of them had marks of iron on their ankles and wrists, fettered to prevent escape. The Kondhs related that out of these only 54 were destined for the sacrifice and the others were intended for pussias or adoptives. At this instance he had related them of the incident of Ghumsur and Boudh, but could not prevent two sacrifices. In the said year he had rescued 206 victims from the Chinakimedy tract. Many of the Kondhs had carried away their Meriahs to distant places in the hills to avoid their discovery by the Meriah agency.[40] The total number of Meriahs rescued in the year 1849 was 307. The aggregate number by this time of the Meriah victims numbered to 547, including of the past two seasons.[41]

Lt. Frye succeeded Dyce in 1849 and had rescued a large number of Meriah victims from the Chinakimedy tract in between 22 December, 1849 and 6th April 1850. Many of these were women and had borne children to the parties who purchased them. Frye converted this state of concubinage into that of marriage, for the former life was laways insecure to them.

His belief was that such purchasers would deliver these parents to the other party and abscond themselves during the comsumation of the rite. As such they were always in a state of insecurity. Desiring to effect safety of life, Frye restored these women and children into the families of the purchasers on a moral point of view, and this measure was attended with success.[42]

To a large extent the Meriah Agency was successful in its object. In certain areas the sacrifice ceased and human victim was substituted by inferior animals, such as Buffaloes. This was so especially in the Ghumsur area. The rescued Meriahs were placed here out of danger. But the rite itself had maintained its hold in the frontiers of Ghumsur and there was importation of the sacred flesh. In the Chinakimedy ad Jeypore tracts the rite was still prevailing. The Meriah

agency felt it necessary to direct force against them in order to impress and revert them from the practice.[43] It had to begin its work in the interior parts of the Southern Orissa hills, in the unvisited tracts of Patna and in remote hills of Kalahandi. In the year 1851 from all the Kondh country 617 Meriah victims were rescued.[44]

On 18th November 1851, Col. Campbell proceeded into the Jeypore region. The Raja of Bissumcuttack, Narain Deo showed his zeal and confidence in the work of the agency. Under his personal persuasion the Kondh chief of his tract brought up and delivered their meriahs unconditionally to the Meriah Agent, Campbell.[45] The task of the Agent did not end at Bissumcuttack. He had received information that the people of Rayabji had some meriahs with them. In this Rayabji mutha he could not avail any help from the mutha heads. The mutha heads and chiefs of the Rayabji mutha were in a state of doubt as to the operation of the agency. Campbell enhanced confidence in them and assured of suspending the supposed action in the use of force against them. This enabled him to rescue 69 victims from that mutha. As usual the Chiefs who were present there were given to sign the pledge of refrainment from sacrifice for ever.[46]

Rayabji, to some extent, was conquered. The important muthas remained unconquered were Chandrapur and Bundari. At Bundari the sacrifice was always preceded by the sacrifice of three other human beings. The people did not turn up to the call of Campbell, and the result was that the villages were destroyed with a view to save three human victims.[47] In the following year 1852 the number of Meriahs rescued were 158 from the Jeypore country. There were 16 pussias registered in the said year. The practice of rearing Meriahs by bringing up women to prostitution was more general in the Jeypore than in any part of the Kondh country. In the old age these women were sacrificed. This practice was very

common in the muthas of Tekeropada, Godiery, Rayabji and Chandrapur.[48]

The most notable event of the year was the surrender of the muthas of Toopungia and Parighur. These muthas had been in long opposition to the operation of the meriah agency. In the year they had delivered four meriahs and fourteen pussias to J. Campbell. Of these pussias there were some women kept as concubine by the purchasers. Three of these pussias were children and as such they were restored to the chiefs. The surrender of Toopungia mutha was the result of the engagement of force. The people of this mutha had actuated in a different manner, and before any kind of surrender of their rights was effected, were determined to fight. This led to the meriah agent to set fire to three small villages without any hesitation. This action the agent had defended on the plea of self-defence. This became an exemplary instance, 'that the government was in an unmistakable manifestation of its determination to put an end to it'. The Kondh chiefs who had assembled at Mahasingy after the incident, had unanimously declared the action of the agent as 'Punishment'.[49]

In the said year from the Jeypore tract of 220 villages all the chiefs, except Surrogo Majhi of Dodogorigi in the Rayabji mutha, had produced their meriahs. The Chief of the Rayabji mutha had refused to produce the women who were registered in the preceeding year. He had taken the plea that many of them became wife to different people and had borne children and as such could not be produced before the agent. The general presumption was that they were sacrificed soon after Campbell had left the tract in 1852.[50]

In the Chinakimedy tract the practice of sacrifice was on the decrease. In the year 1854, 17 meriahs were received by the agent from this tract. Apart from these, the Kondhs had voluntarily delivered 37 women pussias to the Agent.

After due registery, these women were restored to their husbands. It was the usual practice with the agent.[51]

In between 1855-56 in the Jeypore tract four meriahs were sacrificed. The muthas which performed the sacrifice were Malkangiri, Odrogoro and Ramgiri. In Nawarangpur, by this time the practice of sacrifice was ceased under able management of Cheytan Deo.[52] Only in the low part of the Jeypore tract the performance of the practice had maintained its strong hold. The inhabitants were more civilized. The crime of sacrifice prevailed due to misrule. From these lower parts of Jeypore in the said year 100 Toorées were rescued. In the said year the Ranee of Jeypore had offered a sacrifice in fulfilment of her vow.[53]

Encouraged and backed by the ruling chiefs and heads of the maliah region of Southern Orissa, the Kondhs at times were incited to break their pledge of refrainment with the government. Such temptation in them resulted kidnapping children from the neighbouring countries to serve the purpose. In the year 1855, the Kondhs of Raiaingia kidnapped three children from Dasapala and one from Ghumsur. In the years 1857-58 January two children were sacrificed in Rodongia and Atharamutha of Ghumsur. In the year 1858, 19 women victims were rescued from the Chinakimedy tract with direet intervention of the agent. In spite of the fact that the Kondhs of this tract had signed the pledge of refrainment from the performance of the sacrifice with the government, in many instances they had violated their oath and consumated the rite from time to time.[54]

Continual effort of the meriah Agency resulted a great change in the outlook of the Kondhs. But the spirit of performing the rite was instantly encouraged by the human hand of kidnappers. The police was not vigilant[55] and no report they made even after the performance of the sacrifice. In this regard, the establishment of police proved of little use and it could not prevent the sacrifice. To make them

more active and the proper vehicle of the Agency's object, Mr. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Cuttack had recommended a change transfer of some areas under the charge of the agent to the hill tracts of Orissa, leaving Ghumsur and Chokapad to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam. This, however, was adopted, and the benefit derived out of this change was a saving in the expenditure of the government.[56]

The success great as it was, had some elements of doubt and discouragement at the first instance. For a considerable time, Macpherson was perplexed with certain difficulties. Some thing was wanted to covince the people of the intention of the government. And this was the determination hand of the government, which however, came in late. Only after such a fulfilment of power and demonstration of the iron will of the government, villages after had yielded to the good influences of the agency. The barbarous rite was gradually extinguished and the Kondh goddess sank deep into delusion.[57]

It was fear that reigned the people rather than conviction, and was responsible to get them to submission. The repetition of the rite might have been possible, were there no immigrants after the dissolution of the agency in 1861. In the last quarter of the century the immigrants had caused a fusion of culture by social interaction. This had a great impact upon the social and economic life of the Kondh people in the hills, and revolutionised their outlook. As a result of this change they did not think to return to their practice of sacrifice.[58]

The Kondhs were sunk deep in the depth of ignorance, superstition and sensuality. To face such a tribe was a great problem to the Meriah Agency. The Agency attended with more problems regarding the security of the recovered children, women and girls. The chiefs were to be satisfied, as their influence to get the Kondhs to personal communication was a necessity. The Economic conditions of the people

were to be studied and all efforts to remove their poverty were to be concentrated. The Agency had to deal with all these bulk of questions in order to become successful in its Meriah mission. Of the recovered persons, several had been claimed by their parents, and restoration of these children to their respective parents became a matter of insecurity. The children were not free from the risk of being resold again. The parents had no livelihood and in some instances it was reported thet they had sold again for a small sum of Rs. 3/- to Rs. 4/-, when in distress.[59]

Poverty had caused a complete fall in the moral relation of the parent and the child in the Kondh family. To save the restored children from all the probable insecurity, Campbell had his own reason to employ them in the temples of Ghumsur as cultivators.[60] It was hoped that these rescued children would be best fed and clothed there until they attain a certain age and became able to undertake any kind of labour for their sustenance. Their employment in the temples as cultivators was calculated of their future prospect of employment in the same capacity under the well established ryots of that zemindary.[61]

Until these children were placed in the temples, Campbell had made a temporary arrangement for the reception of these children. Each Meriah children were given three cubits of warm cloth and three-fourth of a seer of rice per day. The women who were engaged to take care of these children had also received the same facility of ration and cloth. The total expenditure on such provision amounted to Rs. 710-8-0 per annum.[62]

The restored meriah girls were given in marriage to meriah youths. These youths were well settled as ryots or cultivators in the Ghumsur and elsewhere of the zemindary. By 1852 there were 18 such meriah families and the number of family members of these were 53. All of these were well

settled and became established cultivators and 6 of these had paid their full land assessment.[63]

One of the principal objects the Meriah mission or the Agency had in view was the Education of the Kondhs. Difusion of knowledge among the rising generation was the only effectual means to arrest the wide spread of the evils. Education was looked as a proper vehicle to bring them to a state of civilization by revolutionising their religious outlook. An attempt of the Meriah Agency to educate the Meriah children in schools of Ghumsur and Chinakemedi in the years 1851-52 was great failure. Seven meriah students were sent to school. Of these seven, one boy became able to read and write and the six others were found incapable. Expecting an improvement, these children were sent to the care of the missionaries at Berhampur, Cuttack and Balasore. There was no development of these children in these institutions. The object of the mission to set such meriah students in the cause of the meriah mission failed.[64]

So for the policy towards the chiefs and the Bissoys was concerned, Campbell had accepted the policy of conciliation with the established chiefs. He came in contact with 65 Bissoys and Patros in the Kondh area of Boudh, Jeypore, Ghumsur and Chinakemedi. He did not remove any one from their office, for that he knew that any subvertion in authority would result anarchy and confusion. That would not favour to the progress in the work of the Meriah Agency. He strove to gain their confidence by kindness and conciliation. Most of these Bissoys and Patros were not equally disposed of to forward his views for the suppression of the human sacrifice.[65]

In many cases the Kondhs had identified their meriahs as pussias or adoptives. Some of them were true in their version but a good number of them had the plea to avoid surrender of their meriahs. In such the situation agency adopted the method of registration. Where the adoptives or Pussias were

women, brought up in a state of concubinage, the Agent elevated them to a married wife's status. They became the wife of the persons who had them. This measure had created an atmosphere of family relation, love and affection between them. The life of those women were insured against the risk of possible sacrifice.[66]

Female Infanticide

Like the practice of human sacrifice, the killing of female children had its deep root among the Boora sect of Kondh people. Killing of female children was also common among the Sindhians.[67] The usage with which it was connected ultimately as a cause and effect, had deformed the system of life of a large division of middle Kondh population in the southern tract of Orissa.[68]

The area over which the practice prevailed covered about 2,400 square miles, with 60,000 population. These comprised and included the zemindaries of Surada, Korada, Chinakemedi, Ghumsur above the ghats and the Jeypore zemindary. In these areas the number of female children destroyed annually were from 1,200 to 1,500. The practice of killing of female children varied materially from place to place.[69] In the maliahs of Surada killing of female children prevailed largely.[70]

In some parts of the Kondh tract, the custom of killing female children was regarded with abhorrence, and in some places it had become a usage. In such confines the life of no female children was spared, except when a woman's first child was a female, and the head of the tribe desired to establish relation by marriage. Failing to form such negotiations, the female infants were killed by exposure in the jungle ravines immediately after birth.[71]

Like the meriah, the killing of female children had some religious sanction. The Boora sect believed that it was an injunction granted to them by God. They were to perform

the killing in order to save the world from the grip of women, whom they considered great mischief maker. But the more reasonable magnitude of the crime might have been originated from their social and economic conditions which account for their poverty.[72]

To a Kondh father, a married girl was always a burden. There were the marriage considerations and it was relative to property considerations in the form of 'Seede'. The Kondh women were at liberty to divorce their husbands at any time. Such matrimonial changes had serious consequences upon the property and social status of a Kondh father.[73]

The amount of the marriage consideration and the degree of difficulty arose out of these matrimonial changes depended upon the proportion between males and female that existed in a particular area. In Pandiakhole the female children were permitted to live as the marriage consideration here amounted to Rs. 50/- to Rs. 70/-. In the adjacent tract of Badagado, the consideration given for a wife was very normal. It did not exceed three to four rupees. Here the wives had their right to change their husbands. But they did not prefer exercise it very frequently as the women of Pandiakhole.[74]

In the Jeypore tract the cause of destroying the female children was different from those of the Ganjam tract. In the Jeypore tract the life of a female infant depended upon verdiction. of the Janee or Zanee, the priest The Zanee would forecast the future of the child, and if she was destined to cause evils, she was killed.[75]

When the meriah mission had concentrated work to prevent human sacrifices, simultaneously it worked for the suppression of female infanticide. It rescued 170 female infants in 1844. Out of these infants 70 belonged to Pandia-akhole, 45 to Digi, 55 to Goldi.[76]

Problems and measures adopted

In the infanticidal tract this measure brought a new relation to government with the Kondhs. "It also modified the ideas regarding infanticide. The girls who were given in marriage had exercised their influence upon others. This brought now marriages in 1845. There were 8 such girls married in Koradabadi, 4 in Bori, and 1 in Dokarabadi."[77]

The system of registration had some good effects in the infanticidal tracts. In 1853 Campbell found 901 female children under four years of age in 2,149 families in the Surada tract. There were not a single children in 1848-49.[78]

In the following year when Mac Viccar had conducted a general survey in Surada hill, the infanticidal tract, he found a great number of female children. The census he had received from the people gave a total number of 907 male and 434 female children in a population of 1,415 male and 998 women adults. 53 female children as were under the age of 4 years, were not included in the census.[79] These belonged to Terungabadi and Mulkabadi muthas comprising of villages Tarabadi, Somonbadi, Yunabadi, Daringibadi, Sadubadi, Bomorobadi, Kumbarbadi, Addigudi and Keerupabadi.

In spite of these measures, female infanticide did not cease completely, while by the year 1861 there was no human sacrifice.[80]

Slavery

Slave trade and domestic slavery were two of the social evils which prevailed in the southern part of Orissa. Ganjam, in the last years of eighteenth century was a place for business of slave traders. In 1790 some native at Ganjam were purchased as slaves by the traders. They were intended for the slave market in the South India. Revealation of this fact led the Company to issue a proclamation forbidding the vessel to carry them. The result was that the natives returned to shore at the cost of the Company government.[81]

In 1820 circular orders were issued to the magistrates to penalise persons who ill treated their slaves. Also orders were issued to stop the practice of selling of girls to dancing women, The girls were brought up here as prostitutes. By the year 1832, the system of selling slaves did not exist to any great extent. However, it was revealed in some other form. In Ganjam some of the lowest castes, who had many children and had no means of livelihood, gave one or two of their children to their rich neighbours. On return they got money and clothes from them. The children were brought in good condition and were treated with kindness. Occasionally, the dancing girls of the temples or pagodas purchased few children from the neighbouring district of Cuttack. These children, however, were at liberty to return to their places at any time they thought proper.[82]

In the Joypore region the practice of debt slavery was prevalent. In Koraput area it was known as 'Goti' and in the Rayagada area the system was known in the name of 'Kambari' or 'Khambari'. The system in course of time became more severe. The harmonious relationship between the master and the servant became more inhuman, when the former was an immigrant from the plain.[83] Their suffering did not end till recent days.

Sati or Suttee

Another special evil of no less magnitude was the practice of 'Suttee' or 'Sati'. It was prevalent in Gajam, Vizagapatam and other districts of the Northern Circars.[84] In Southern part of Orissa Suttee was favourably adopted by the noble Hindu people. In the year 1807, the daughter of the Raja of Burghur or Badagad became Sati.[85] In 1824, the three wives of Bhuratah Narrain Deo, a relation of the Raja of Parlakhe-mundi became 'Sati' or 'Suttee', in presence of the British officials. The Patta Mahadevi of the Raja was prevented

from self-immolation on the pyre of the deceased on the ground of being pregnant.[87]

After these incidents, there were no other occasions of Sati reported. The Government had tolerated the practice of the rite for some time. It was in 1819, Government desired report from the Collectors about the burning of the widows in the funeral pyre of their husbands.[88] Upto 1824, the Government followed a policy of persuassion on the belief that interference would involve the Government in dangerous consequences. It had tolerated the perform of the practice under certain terms and conditions. But the human intention of these restrictions under the control of local police did not help deminishing the extent of evil, on the other hand, tended to increase it.[88] The non-interference policy of the Company Government over the question of abolishing the evil was withdrawn in 1824 during the period of Lord Amherst's Governor-Generalship. The reasons basing upon which it withdrew the policy of non-interference were first, that Suttee was not founded on or enjoined by any Hindu law.

Secondly, that other barbarous customs and unknown Hindu practices were prohibited without dangerous consequences. This made the Government to believe that there could be no ground that the abolition of Suttee would have an ill effect.

Thirdly, that there was a great difference of opinion on the subject of Suttee among the Hindus. This division enabled the Government to impose its view upon the conservative section of the people against their argument for the evil practice.

Fourthly, that practice was not permitted by the foreign power when they hold territory in India.

Fifthly, there were many instance in which Government had successfully and effectually prevented the evil without any opposition.

At this time the Government received favourable opinions regarding the iniquity and illegality of the custom. Yet it avoided a firm decision over the question and looked upon education as the only agent that would help to leave Suttee to die a natural death.[89]

The determination of the Government to abolish the practice led to the introduction of the Regulation XVII of 1829.[90] The regulation prohibited the practice throughout the provinces subject to the British rule. This was favourably received in Madras and was passed under Regulation I of 1830 under the Governorship of Stephen Rumbold Lushington for abolishing Sati in the Madras Presidency.[91]

The event justified the expectations of those who believed that no danger would result from the publication of this prohibitory enactment. It was a great experiment and a successful one. But the practice for some years was a living reality in many native states.

Walking through the fire on a festive occasion was a religious custom among certain lower sections of the Hindu Community in the Southern region of Orissa. Generally, it took place in the month of March. The places known for the performance of the rite in the Nineteenth century were Koomari, Moherry, Maduopuram, Kundrapolem and Narinpur in the Parlakhemundi zemindary. The expenditure of the rite was generally met on the contributions of the people.[92]

In 1854, considering the rite injuries to health, the Government issued prohibitory order. Under the order the actors of the function were required to appear before the Police for a declaration that they were performing the ceremony voluntarily. The agents of the festival were also warned against the publishment of homicide, in the event of death followed from the performance of the practice.[93]

But in the course of time, inadequate funds did not permit the people to perform it regularly in every year. Its gradual

disuse helped the Government to pursue its discontinuance by persuasion and that detered government from its administrative interference and determination in the instrumentation of legal punishment.[94]

REFERENCES

1. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India by R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, p. 465.
2. Ganjam Manual by T. J. Maltby, (1918-Madras).
3. From Lt. Col. J. Campbell, C.B. Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, to the Secretary to Government of India, dated Berhampur 10th April, 1852, No. 101, p. 41 (RMA).
4. Report of Capt. Macpherson, Principal Assistant, to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam, Dated 24.4.1842, p. 14, (RMA).
5. From Capt. J. Campbell, C. B. Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, to the Secretary to Government of India, Berhampur, dated 9. 2. 1854, p. 51 (RMA).
6. From Capt. J. Campbell, C.B. Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 9.2.1854, p. 51 (RMA).
   (a) The Region of the Kui Kondhs (their religion and Folklore) by F. V. P. Schulze, p. 1.
   (b) Indian Infanticide by J. C. Browee, p. 210.
7. Letter from Mr. Alexander Arbothnot, Acting Collector, Vizagapatam, Dt. 24-11-1837. (Madras Record Selection No. LXXXI-1864).
8. From Capt. J. Campbell, Asst. Collector, to the Acting Collector, Dt. Nowgam, 15.1.1839, p. 5 (RMA).

9. Letter from Alexander Arbuthnot, Acting Collector, Vizagpatam, Dated 24.11.1837, p. 10. (Selection No. LXXXI-1864).
10. Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garret, p. 325.
11. The Administration of the East India Company by J. W. Kaye, (1966-Allahabad), p. 497.
12. Russel's Third Report, Dt. 11. 5. 1837, p. 53.
13. Selection from the Records of Madras Government, No. LXXXI-1864, p. 11.
14. Ethonological Report of the Madras Presidency by T. G. Frazer, p. 53.
15. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, p. 41.
    (a) Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. III, pp. 373-374 by E. Thurston and K. Rangachari.
    (b) From J. Campbell, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Dated Berhampur 10th April, 1852, (R.M.A).
16. Ibid.
17. Letter from J. Campbell, Asst. Collector, to the Acting Collector, Ganjam and Officiating Commissioner Mr. W. A. D. Ingilis, dated 17.1.1838, p. 3, (R.M.A).
18. Index No. 103/1837, pp. 102-103 (Selection from the Record of Ganjam Collector) 'Minutes of Council', dated 11. 12. 1837.
19. Index No. 106/1837. Letter to the Officiating Commissioner from Ghumsur and Surada from the Superintendent Collector, p. 104 (Selection from the Records of Ganjam Collector).
20. Letter from J. Campbell, Asst. Collector, to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam dated Nowgada 22. 1. 1841, p. 6, (R.M.A).
21. From Capt. J. Campbell, dated 15. 1. 1839, p. 5, (R.M.A).

22. Report for the year 1842, from J. Campbell, Principal Assistant Agent, to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam dated Ghumsur 6th January, 1842, p. 8 (R.M.A).

23. Report of Capt. Macpherson, Principal Assistant, to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, Dated 24.4.1842, p. 10 (R.M.A).

24. Report from the year 1842, by Capt. Macpherson, Principal Assistant Agent to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, Dated Ghumsur 6th January 1842, p. 8 (R M. A).

25. Letter from Capt Macpherson dated 18 8.1842, pp. 15-16. (R.M.A).

26. Report of Capt. Macpherson dated 18.8.1842, p. 16 (R.M.A.).

27. A private letter from Capt. Macpherson concerning his tour in January, 1843, p. 17, (R.M.A.).

28. Letter from Capt. Macpherson dated 8-5-1844, p. 17, (R.M.A.).

29. Letter from Capt Macphersan Dated 8-5-1844, p. 17, (R.M.A.).

30. Modern India and the West by L. S. S. O. Malley, p. 730.

31. The report of the Meriah Agency, p. 2.
   (a) Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, p. 6.

32. Accounts of operation in the season of 1846 by the Meriah Agency, p 24, (R.M.A.).

33. Accounts of operation in the season of 1846 by the Meriah Agency, p. 24, (R.M.A.).

34. Report of Meriah Agency, Ganjam, p. 2.

35. From Lt. Col. J. Campbell, C. B. Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, to the Secret..ry to Govt. of India, Russelkonda, Dated 16-4-1848, p. 25. (R.M.A.).

36. Ibid, p. 25.
37. Ibid.
38. From Lt. Col. J. Campbell, C. B. Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Russelkonda, Dated 16-4-1848, pp. 26-27 (R.M.A.).
39. Ibid, p. 29.
40. From J. Campbell, to the Officiating Secretary to Govt. of India, Russelkonda, dated 17.3.1849, p. 33, (R.M,A.).
41. Ibid, p. 35.
42. Operation of the season of 1849-1850 from Lt. Frye, p. 36, (R.M.A.).
43. From Capt. J. Mac Viccar, Officiating Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 24.4.1851, No. 100, p. 39, (R.M.A.).
44. Ibid, p. 40.
45. From Lt. J. Campbell to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 10.4.1852, p. 40, (R.M.A.).
46. From Lt. J. Campbell, to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 10.4.1852, p. 41, (R.M.A.).
    (a) From D. F. Carmichael, Esq., Acting Agent, to the Governor at Vizagapatam, to the Hon. A. J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to the Govt. Fort St. George, Dated 31st March, 1863, p. 55. (Selection from the Records of Madras Government No. LXXXI).
47. From Lt. J. Campbell, to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 10.4.1852, p. 40, (R.M.A.).
48. From Lt. J. Campbell, to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 10.4.1852, p. 40, (R.M.A.).

49. From Col. J. Campbell, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 13.4.1853, p. 47 (R.M.A).
50. Ibid, p. 47.
51. From J. Campbell, to the officiating Secretary to Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 9.2.1854, p. 49 (R.M.A.).
52. Report of A. C. Mac Neill, Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, Dated 12.6.1856, p. 65 (R.M.A.).
53. From Capt. J. Mac Viccar, to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Berhampur, Dated 21.5.1855, No. 86, p. 63 (R.M.A.).
54. Papers on India by J. W. Kaye, No. II, pp. 14-15.
55. From A. C. Mac Neill, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Dated Russelkonda, 14.5.1859, p. 72, (R.M.A).
56. Ibid, p. 75.
57. Papers on India by J. W.Kaye, No. II, pp 20-21.
58. The Aristocracy of Southern India by A. Vadivelu, (1902-Madras), p. 65.
59. From J. Campbell, to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, Dated Russelkonda 6th January, 1842, p. 8, (R.M.A.).
60. From J. Campbell, to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, and to the officiating Commissioner of Ghumsur and Surada, Dated 17.1.1138, p. 4, (R.M.A.).
61. From J. Campbell, to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam and to the Officiating Commissioner of Ghumsur and Surada, Dated 17.1.1838, pp. 3-4 (R.M.A.).
62. From J. Campbell, to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam, Dated Russelkonda 17.1.1838, pp. 3-4 (R.M.A.).
63. From J. Campbell, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Berhampur Dated 10.4.1852, pp. 44-45. (R.M.A.).

64. From J. Campbell, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Dated 22.2.1853, p. 45 (R.M.A.).
65. From J. Campbell, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Berhampur dated 9.2.1854, p. 49.
66. Ibid, pp. 49-50, (R.M.A.).
67. The Administration of the East India Company by J. W. Kaye, p. 439.
68. Report of Capt. Macpherson, to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam, Dated 24.4.1842, p. 11, (R.M.A.).
69. From Capt. Macpherson, Dated 10.7.1844, p. 17, (R.M.A.).
70. From J. Campbell, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Dated Russelkonda, 17.3.1849, p. 29, (R.M.A).
71. Report of Capt. Macpherson, to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam, Dated 24.4.1842, p. 11, (R.M.A.).
72. Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency by H. D Taylor, p. 23.
    (a) Castes and Tribes of Southern India by E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, (1909-Madras), Vol. III, p. 386.
73. Report of Capt. Macpherson, to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam, Dated 24-4-1842, pp. 11-12, (R.M.A).
74. Report of Capt. Macpherson, to the Agent to Governor in Ganjam, Dt. 24-4-1842, p. 12.
75. Report from A. C. Mac Neill, Dated 12-5-1857, pp. 67-68, (R.M.A).
    (a) Indian infanticide and its origin, progress and and suppression by John Cave Nrowne, pp. 210-211.
    (b) Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, (1945-Govt. of Orissa), p. 51.

76. Capt. Macpherson's report dated 10.7.1844, p. 17, (R.M.A).
77. From Asst. Surgeon Mr. Cadenhead, to the Acting Agent to Governor in Ganjam; Dated Gopalpur 17.3.1845, p. 23, (R.M.A).
78. From Lt. J. Campbell, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Berhampur Dated 13.4.1853, p. 46, (R.M.A).
79. From Lt. J. Campbell to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Berhampur Dated 13.4.1853, p. 46 (R.M.A).
80. From A. C. Mac Neill, to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Dated Russelkonda. dt. 22.5.1861, p. 81 and dt. 22.8.1860, p. 79 (R.M.A).
81. Letter from Robert Clerk, Dy. Secretary Clerk, Fort St. Geogre, to Moragam Williams, Dated 9.3.1790, pp. 106-107, (Vol. 700-G.D.R.T.N.A.M.).
82. Letter. from G. M. Ogilive, Magistrate, to the Provincial Court, Northern Circars, pp. 76-77, (Vol. 3942/24464-GDRTNAM).
83. Orissa District Gazetteers (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, (1918-Madras), pp. 116-117.
84. Gazetteer of India, Part I, p. 869, (1898).
    (a) Humanitarian ideas in Madras by Dr. B. S. Baliga. (Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings of the meeting), p. 36.
85. Translate of an Arze from Raghunath Sing, Zemindar of Burghur, to Robert Alexander, Esq. Collector, Ganjam dated 11.3.1807 (Vol. 786, GDR-TNAM).
86. Letter from P. R. Cazalet, Collector, Ganjam to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue dated 19.7.1824, (Vol. 3907-Record of letters sent in the Revenue Deptt. during the management of P. R. Cazalet, GDRTNAM), pp. 146-147.
87. Records of the Percept received in the Magisterial

Deptt. for the year 1819, Letter from John Paske, to the Acting Magistrate in the zilla of Ganjam dt. 1.7.1819, p. 9 (Vol. 829/19181-GDRTNAM).

88. Papers on India, No. 2 (The Suppression of Human Sacrifice, Suttee and Female infanticide) by J. W. Kaye, p. 29, (1898-Madras).

89. Ibid, p. 29.

90. Ragulation XVII of 1829-Bengal Regulation and Acts 1806-1834, pp. 878-880.

91. Humanitarian ideas in Madras-1800-1835 by Dr. B. S. Baliga (Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XVII, Mysore session) (1942-Delhi), p. 39.

92. Letter from W. Knox, Acting Magistrate, Ganjam to the President and Members, Board of Revenue dated 17.6.1854, pp. 20-22, (Selection from the records of Madras Govt. No. VII. Reports on the Suringy festival and the ceremony of walking through fire).

93. Minutes of Consultation dated 18th February, 1854, pp. 1-2.

94. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

On the eve of the Nineteenth Century, Southern Orissa presented a sad picture. The rivalry between the English and the French for power created a wave of confusion and disorder in the native administration. On the extension of authority over the Northern Circars in 1765, the British authorities strove to consolidate their rule over Southern Orissa. But they could not succeed for almost seventy years i.e. from 1765 to 1835 owing to the stiff resistance to it by the native Rajas.[1] The period from 1766 to 1835 was a difficult one for British Administration in Southern Orissa. The general conduct of the zemindars or the Rajas upto 1835 was refractory and hostile to the interests of the East India Company in this region. Many of them totally departed from their allegiance and duty towards the Company. This compelled the Company's Government in Southern Orissa to regulate the tract by constant engagement of force. A body of peons were raised to furnish a force adequate to preserve peace[2] of the region and bring the zemindars under control.[3]

The British Officers were new to the local conditions. They made several commitments to the local Rajas and they found it difficult to bring them to obedience and submission

to their power. The Rajas of the region disliked the very nature of British administration. They were not aware of the European method of Government and system of land revenue administration and rules. The British Officials demanded the payment of the tributes with regularity and in large sum, which they enhanced from time to time. In fact it was the amount of tribute and its regular payment became the main issue spoiling the relations between the British Government and the native Rajas of Southern Orissa.

The British Government felt the reality of the Rajas, their influence and strength as long as they had retained their judicial and revenue powers. Realising the danger from these Rajas, the British Government enhanced the annual tribute. It also removed some prominent Rajas from power, in order to reduce their strength on the pretext to maintain law and order. The Company Government tried to balance itself against the opposing forces by bringing a portion of the population to their side.[4] The people of the confiscated zemindaries were brought under the direct administration of the Government.

The policy which the British Government followed either under the Company or Crown administration was always directed to weaken the Rajas of Southern Orissa. At first, it made good use of the intercine quarrels in the local aristocracy and played one zemindar off against the other to weaken both.

Secondly, its target of attack was directed on the main sources of revenue, especially land revenue of the native Rajas.

Thirdly, all its administrative measures were directed in the demolition of forts and reduction in then umber of armed paiks and retaineers of the native Rajas. These were some of the positive methods which the British Government followed to bring the zemindars to obedience and submission

to their power. For about seventy years, the British officers tried in executing these measures.[5]

The effects of temporary settlement were a bitter experience of the Company in the revenue administration of the region until the introduction of the permanent settlement. It experienced the administration of the land revenue collection with irresistible force. It had not sufficient knowledge of the country and existing state of things relating land revenue system. Further most of the officials were corrupt and inefficient. It was inevitable to introduce permanent settlement in this region.[6]

The discontentment of the Zemindars was increased after the Permanent Settlement. The accounts of the Circuit Committee which were taken in 1783-88, were referred to as the best data for regulating the assessment and judging of the collections of revenue valuing the resources of the estate to which they related. These were used to regulate the judgement in the fluctuating system of revenue administration. And both politically and economically the Rajas became weak,[7] owing to the hypothetical nature of these accounts upon which the permanent rent was fixed.[8] Their social status was degraded. Their acts in matters of ownership of land and estate became a questionable verdict in the Court of Law.

All these administrative measures of the Government aggravated the political uncertainity in several estates of Southern Orissa. As such, Parlakhemundi was seriously disrupted by the insurrection and eruption of the Vessoys or Bissoys, a feudatory class residing in the hills of that Zemindary.[9] There were disturbances in Moherry and Ghumsur.[10] In such a period of struggles, life and property became insecure. These necessitated the British power to use force to restore law and order.[11] The British Government did not have adequate time and interest to study the real problems pertaining to the social and economic conditions of the people of Southern Orissa.

The Permanent Settlement did not improve the economic standard of the ryots in the zemindary areas. Most of the regulations relating to the permanent system of revenue administration were unknown to the majority of the inhabitants of the region. In a province so remote and uncivilised, the success of settlements according to the regulations depended upon the diffusion of knowledge. Most of the Rajas and people did not know the regulations of the Permanent Settlement. It was one of the reasons that resulted in the failure of the Permanent Settlement.[12] Government was rigid in enforcing the regulations concerning the recovery of the arrear land revenue. This had some ill consequences upon the zemindaries.[13]

Failure in the Permanent Settlement brought the ryotwari settlements into picture. During the century the ryotwari settlement played the most important role determining the socio-economic standard of the people.[14]

The ryots cultivated the land. They had little for their own maintenance, after meeting the demands of their landlords. Those who owned land in the Government taluks had little prospect due to the absence of intermediary tenures.[15] There was no improvement in any sphere. Poverty caused by the internal disturbances[16], illiteracy and disease, insecurity in holding and uncertainities in weather were the major factors which reduced the peasants into nothingness.[17] As such many well established ryots were reduced to the rank of common village labourer and many common people had changed their abode on search of work and food.

The repeated scarcity and famines of the period under study constantly affected the prosperity of the people. The administrative measures remedying these evils were inadequate either to compensate or to check the pitiful sufferings of the millions in starvation, disease and death. The exploitation of the merchants causing a monopoly rise in the prices during the period of scarcities affected the poor

peasants as they gained nothing out of the high prices. Royts both in the zemindary and Government taluks areas suffered in poverty owing to under-development and lack of irrigational facilities.[18] The produce they raised was lowly valued. Many of the ryots did not enjoy the benefit of remission, especially, in the zemindary tract. The remission that was granted to the ryots in the Government taluks was less and not much to sustain the distress and stand with the new efforts in subsequent years.

The zemindars had little to invest in irrigational projects for the benefit of their ryots. The rigid enforcement of the revenue sale laws rendered most of the native Rajas inactive and incapable to effect any humanitarian service to their people. Neither the British Government nor the native Rajas took interest on the over-all development of the region. The former was busy in commercial transactions and highest revenue collections from all possible sources of revenue without planning for long range development. The Rajas, though had a mind, were in a state of depression owing to their less of power, status and sources of revenue.[19]

During the British administration, in the Nineteenth Century, in Tribal people, especially, the Kondhs and the Savaras of the region were not economically and socially benefitted. There was revolutionary change in their religious outlook of the Kondhs after constant persuasion, intercourse and resistance due to the humanitarian efforts of some elite British officials under the Company service. It was a great success as the task was difficult in the same degree.

The success of the Meriah agency was accomplished during the period of administration of the Crown in 1861. But several other factors concerning the tribal social life and economic development remained unsolved, in spite of its efforts to educate and interact them with the other people in schools and markets. The failure was the result of a mixed reaction of the tribal people to the measures of the British

Government, the attitude of the more civilized men of the plains and the inertia of the tribal people who did not grasp the importance of their social and economical standing in the national life of the region. Not that the British Government did every thing to elevate these people in general and thereby frees itself from the blame of inactivity, but politically it tried to detach the social binding of the people with the native Rajas and the Hindu community at large.

The British administration did not affect the Savaras in the same degree as it did to the Kondhs. The social backwardness and the economic depression which the tribal people suffer till to-day reminds us of the concern of these officials during that period and leaves us to judge the impact of their administration upon these people in view of their rising.[20]

In the sphere of education of the British Government had reflected its objects of civilization and tried to initiate social reformation. During the first half of the Nineteenth Century Southern Orissa abounded with many social superstitions. The Hindu noble widows became 'Sati' considering it a religious duty and rank of social pride. Among the Kondhs human sacrifice and female infanticide were regarded as religious injunctions granted to them by their respective Goddess and God. The British Government looked upon education as the proper agent to effect a change in this situation.[21] But it had done very little to provide that type of education to fulfil its end.

The education despatch of 1854, which marked the beginning of a new phase in the educational polity of the Government brought no advantage to Southern Orissa. Had not some of the native Rajas showed their zeal and patronised the educational institutions there would have been no higher institutions in this part of Orissa. The Rajas of the tract took interest in expansion of education and it was only due

to their encouragement and efforts, many educational institutions were opened. This brought a great change in the social life of the people. They were exposed to new ideas and came closer to the administrative regulation of the British Government.

Under the native administration, trade and commerce of the region was in a poor condition. There were no communication facilities. But people were happy due to their simple living and minimum wanting. The British administration brought a great change in the outlook and the needs of the people. Payment of land revenue in kind was substituted by cash. Barter gradually lost its importance in trade and markets ran in exchange of money medium. Consequently, there was a gradual development in the trade and commerce of the region.

Roads were constructed for Military and commercial interests of the Government. Consequently those improved transport facilities. The Government regulated the export and import duties set outposts for the purpose. But the native population were least benefited with this development as they did not share the capital and the skill though the produces came from them. With the development of the trade facilities in the region the wealth was drained out due to common ignorance and illiteracy.

Viewed from the social and economic considerations the British administration in Southern Orissa during the Nineteenth Century was a period of economic drain, chaos and confusion and struggles and scarcities. It may be said that the period of British Administration instead of indicating any change for progress in the material condition of Southern Orissa, left for the future a legacy of stagnation and economic deterioration. That partly accounts for the general poverty and backwardness of Southern Orissa throughout the rest period of the British Administration.

REFERENCES

1. Thackery's Report on Ganjam, pp. 980-987 (M.R.S).
2. General Report of Board of Revenue dated 10th October, 1801, pp. 82-85.
3. Genaral Report of the Board of Revenue dated 30th January, 1802.
4. Genaral Report of the Board of Revenue dated 20th February, 1804, p. 3.
   (a) Resistance to British Rule in Ganjam by T. E. Ramaswamy Iyenger, pp. 191-201.
5. Circuit Committee Record-Reports of Board of Revenue 1783-84, (Vol. 18-A-No. 8/7854 TNAM), pp. 167-169, (Mr. W. Gram's observation dated 12th September, 1784).
6. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th October, 1804, p. 3.
   (a) Madras Revenue Selections, p. 485 (Letter from the Board of Revenue), dated 25th April, 1808.
7. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 1.1.1814, p. 4.
8. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th October, 1804, p. 2.
   (a) Letter from Collector, Ganjam, P. R. Cazelet, to the Board of Revenue, dated 13th April, 1826, (Selections from the records of Madras Govt. No. XI), pp. 26-27.
9. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 11th February, 1815, pp. 1-2.
   (a) General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 3rd February, 1831, p. 7.
10. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 12th January, 1832, p. 10.
11. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 6th January, 1817, p 3.

(a) Thackery's Report on Ganjam, dated 18th February, 1819, pp. 980-987 (M.R.S).

12. General Report of the Board of Revenue dated 5th October, 1806, pp. 2-3.
13. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 3rd January, 1820, pp. 3-5.
14. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 116.
    (a) Madras Revenue Selections, p. 947.
15. Indian Land System, Ancient, Medieval and Modern by R. K. Mukherjee, pp. 43-44.
16. General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 4th July, 1821, p. 265.
    (b) General Report of the Board of Revenue, dated 1st January, 1814, p. 127.
17. India under the British Crown by B. D. Basu, p. 84.
18. Economic History of India (Victortan Age) by R. Dutta, p. 550.
19. Thackery's Report on Ganjam, pp. 980-987 (MRS).
20. The Administration of the East India Company, by J. W. Kaye, pp. 517-518.
    (a) Manual on the Ganjam Malaiahs under the Madras Presidency by H. D. Taylor, pp. 3-5.
    (b) Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, pp. 69-72.
21. Paper on India No 2, by J. W. Kaye.

I APPENDIX

Mortgage executed by Narrainder Deo, Raja of Mohoory dated 21st August, 1782 (Relating to Chapter II).

(Record of Proceedings of the Chief and Council of Ganjam in Civil Department including Revenue and Commercial affairs, Vol. 732, Ganjam District Record-TNAM), pp. 53-54.

Mortgage

"Know all men by these presents that I Narrainder Deo, Raja of Mohorry in the Itchapur District of the Cicacole Circar having by mismanagment of my servants failed in making good the annual tribute which I from year to year engagement to pay the Hon. East India Company and where as by such my failure am become indebtor to the said company in the sum of Rs. 85,513/- exclusive of my tribute for the year of fusli 1791 or to 25th September 1782, for these reasons in order to show my readiness to do every thing in my favour towards the speedy discharge of my balance to the said.

"Narrainder Deo to hereby for myself and my heirs moatgage and assign and make over to the Hon. East India Company aforesaid the several villages and my zemindary including the Peons, Jaghires, Inams and etc. expecting the

Agraharams according to the annexed list to be by then held and let out to rent as they shall think proper until the revenue arising from them shall have cleared off the aforesaid balance of Rs. 85,513/- together with my current tribute of Rs. 30,000/- for annum and the amount of what may be justly proved to be due to Ball Kistna late renter of the Itchapur district upon condition that as soon the same shall be fully accomplished the several villages of my zemindary shall be restored to me again."

Withness my hand Berhampur this 21st day of August, 1782

Signed and delivered to W. Russell in presence of......

II *APPENDIX*

A Caboleat entered into by Gazaputty Narrain Deo, Zemindar of Kimedy in the 3rd division of Vizagpatam district with Mr. Alexander Scott, Collector for the time being acted under the appointment of the Right Hon. the President in Council of Fort St. George and its dependencies, by virtue of authtority delegated to him by the President and Board of Revenue :

"The Right Hon. the President in Council of Fort St. George having granted the Zemindary of Kimedy to me, Guzaputty Narrain Deo, for a period of four years commencing on the 12 July, 1797 and to end in the 11th July, 1801 that is to say the years of fusli 1207, 1208, 1209 and 1210 with right, privileges immunities and authorities as will be explained hereafter."

* * *

"In respects to the Revenue which I am to pay, it is for this and the two following years to be at the rate of Rs. 1,20,000/- per annum, and on the 4th and last year of my present cowle it is to be Rs. 1,11,919-15-9 only, so that it may include the whole of the old balances now outstanding against me in the Hon. Company's book. Besides, the above revenue which I am to pay to the Hon'ble Company, I pro-

mise to pay the sum of Rs. 7,200/- per annum to the Collector for the time being as an allowance for the support of my brother Jaganaut Deo and his family."

Sd/-

In the presence of A. Scott.
Chicacole dated 2nd December, 1797.
[Taken from the Ganjam Factory Record Correspondence, Vol. 740, (T.N.A.M.), pp. 503-505].

III *APPENDIX*

Taken from the General Correspondence, Ganjam District Record, Vol. 781-T.N.A.M , p. 54).
A true translate letter from Pedda Rauzo to Dunnaygee Bungee.

"Sree Narrain Shereno, son by the Company's order I am arrived at Kollada. I have great inclination to see you and give my asrivadums or blessings, and also the mothers are very sorry—son by the advice of slaves you should not ruin the country. Since you are two months old I have brought you upto be a youth. I returned to this place to see your vigilence prudence and faith to your father and now I understand the whole, who have I got besides you and why should you be so suspecious, they are the Company's people. Beverta the old man alludes to and you do not know the secret that did I not tell you that the people who are with your grandfather as well as to me at Aska, which you may hear by different people what advice could they give more than this ; which is done by God now you must take good sense and avoid those peoples instructions, and come to me with a single planquain and take care of me as my body is not well. What can I write more".

Sd/- Peter Cherry
Collector

IV APPENDIX

Relating to Chapter I. Translate of a letter from Purushottam Gazapatty Narrain Deo, Zemimdar of Kimedy to Francis Augusts Robson, Esq., Collector, dated 28th October, 1805.

(Taken from the letter from the Collector of Ganjam, to the President and Members of the Court of Wards, Fort. St. George, Dated 14th November 1806 [Vol. A.S.O.(D) 99/123, T.N.A.], p. 8.

"You have been apprized of my illness for the letter written to you by my vakil Canoocorty Narasinga Row, on 3rd of the increasing moon of the month Kartheka, when I consider the present state of my health I can not encourage hope of surviving or of enjoying many days the zemindary to which the Company by their favour restored me, the country must therefore be given over to my beloved son Juggernaut Narrain Deo. For the protection of my son, for the management of the country and for the payment of the Company's revenue, my uncle Deogerauze remains wherefore it is unnecessary to write more".

Sd/- Robert Alexander
Collector

V APPENDIX

Taken from Vol. 794 GDR-TNAM, Page No. 228. Related to Chapter VII.

(Translation of an arzee from Ragoonaut Singh, Zemindar of Burragar to Robert Alexander, Esq., Collector, dated 11th March, 1807).

You will have been informed of all the circumstances by my former Arzee—the day we and Cuttingiah people had an engagement, by which one of my son-in-law was killed whose wife destroyed herself with her husband in fire, besides two peons were killed and 10 more wounded. By the Suddapur and Sooredah people conjointly assulting the Cuttengia man with their peons, all these disburances have happened.

Sd/- Ragoonaut Singh
Robert Alexander, *Collector*

GLOSSARY

Abkari	Excise
Agraharam	lands given to temples for religious purposes
Amin	a native surveyor of land ; an officer who measures the land in the settlement ; also, a native officer of Government, employed in the Revenue Department
Arzee	Petition ; Representation
Aurang	a manufacturing division of a salt agency ; also a place where any article of trade is manufactured and collected for whole-sale disposed or export
Bata	Commission
Bazar	Market
Bharan, Bharanam	A measure of grain variable in its content
Bissoy	Tribal head ; a person vested with some military power
Brinjarris	a trading class of Central province
Cadjon	a receipt ; a money receipt issued to salt purchaser on payment of purchasing salt Price
Chutrums	choultery ; an institution for relief
Chowkey	the act of watching or guarding property ; a station of police or customs ; a post where a guard is placed
Circar	Government
Cotur	Place where salt is manufactured and stored
Cowle	a deed ; a document pertaining to land rights

Cuttcherry	a court ; an office or the place where any Govermental business is transacted
Dub	money , a medium of general exchange
Fasalghasti, Fasal-jasti	proportionate charge on the produce raised in addition to common crop cultivation
Firkars	small divisions
Foujdar	District Officer under the Muslims and Marathas exercising civil and military powers
Fusli	Mohammadan Official era belonging to harvest
Garce	a measurement of grain variable in its content
Garjat	tributary states of Orissa
Golà	a warehouse ; a place in which grain or salt is kept for a season ; also a place where grain or salt is sold whole-sale
Gumusta, Goomusta	an agent of a confidential representative appointed by zemindars to collect their rents
Gyoti	Bonded labour, Kampari in the native terms
Jagir, Jaghire	service lands ; a tenure common under the native Governments in which the public revenues of a tract of land were made over to a servant of the State ; revenue free land in lieu of payment of service
Jaghirdar	the holder of a Jaghire
Jama, Jumma	the total amount of rent or revenue payable by a cultivator or a zemindar ; amount of assessment ; tribute

Jamadar	an officer of Police, Customs, or Excise ; second to the Darogah
Jummabundi	settlement of rents
Kabuliyat, Kabuliat, Caboleat, Qubuliyat	a written agreement, especially one signifying assent, as the counterpart of revenue lease, or the document in which a payer of revenue, whether to the Government or the Zemindar, expresses his consent to pay the amount assessed upon his hand ; a deed of agreement
Kanungo, Canungoo	a revenue officer who, under the native Governments recorded all circumstances within their sphere which concerned landed property and the realization of the land revenue, kept registers of the value, tenure, extent and transfer of lands, and assisted in the measurement and survey of the lands
Karanam, Kurnum	a native revenue officer at village level
Karji	a native revenue officer at village level
Karkacha, Kurtutch	salt obtained by solar evaporation
Kist	the amount paid as an instalment of revenue or rent ; the portion of the annual assessment to be paid at specified periods in courts of the year ; such periodical payment is called a Kist
Kondh	a tribal people inhabitating the hill tracts of Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh
Kottubadi	a certain amount paid to the zemindar as holding revenue
Kulkurney	Revenue officer of Sub-Divisional level under the Mohammadan Govt.

Kumeri	Shifting cultivation done by the tribal people on the hill slopes otherwise known as 'Podu' or 'Bogodo' cultivation in the native terms
Lumbady	a merchant class of Central Provinces
Mahajan	a creditor ; a banker ; moneylender
Mamool	a kind of presentation nade by the tribal people annually to the officers of Government either under a zemindar or the Government in taken of their obedience to them ; and in lieu of their having exempted from the collection of land revenue
Mazumdar	a revenue officer
Meriah	the ceremony of human sacrifice ; sacrifice of human beings
Metaposcha	land customs
Mofussil	the village in general
Molunghee	salt traders of Central Provinces
Moturpha	a kind of professional tax
Mukhasas	land held free of rent
Mutha	a group of villages
Muthahead	head of a mutha
Nawab	a Viceroy or Governor of a Province
Nouty	a measurement of grain variable in its content
Paik	Soldier
Pano	a low graded caste
Patro, Pauter	Dewan of zemindar ; manager
Patta, Potta	document given to tenants
Peskar	a clerk
Peshkush, Peshkash, Peshkus	Tribute ; quit-rent
Pradhan	village proprietor of an inferior status

Purguna, Pergunah	Division of a district
Roosom	Extra fees on salt
Rowamah	a paas to facilitate transit of salt
Ryot, Raiyat	a tenant or immediate occupant of the land
Salap	a tree, the intoxication juice of which is largely drunk by the Kondhs
Sanad, Sunnud	a grant, a document conferring privileges, officers or the Government rights to revenue from land etc. under the seal of the ruling authority
Sati, Suttee	The burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of the Husband
Savara, Sowra, Sora	a hill tribe in the hills of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh
Sayor, Sayar	it denotes all other sources of revenue occurring the government excluding land revenue from a variety of imports such as Customs, transit duties, licence fees, house-tax, market tax etc.
Seede	Repayment of the bride amount, consideration of marriage amount given by the Kondh bride on marriage
Sherishtadar, Sheristadar	Record keeper
Shamann Shamanin	Priest or Priestess
Shroff, Shoroff	Cashier ; Treasurer
Sirdar, Sardar	Millitant head
Sowcar, Saucur	Mahajan ; a banker ; moneylender
Subahdar, Subadar	The Governor of a province ; a Viceroy under the Moghul and Maratha Government
Sundi	liquor traders ; a class trades on liquor
Tari, Tadi	fermented juice of Palm tree
Tahsildar, Tahasildar	a native Collector of revenue

Taluk	an estate, applied to a tract of proprietary land usually smaller than a Zemindary
Thana	a police station
Teerwas	Holding, settlement according to survey
Zemindar	a landlord ; a proprietor directly responsible to the state for the revenue or the land he possesses
Zemindary, Zemindari	the office and right of a zemindar ; the tract of land constituting the possessions of a zemindar
Zilla	a district, a division
Zuft, Zupt	an act of seizure for arrear of revenue ; to bring under assignment of government or ruling authority

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Records

1. Ganjam District Records, Vol. Nos. 694 to 830.
2. Circuit Committee Records, Board of Revenue Records Military Consultations.
3. Vizagapatam District Record, Vol. Nos. 780 to 790.

Original Reports

1. General Reports of the Board of Revenue, 1787-1900.
2. Annual Reports on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1800-1901.
3. Report on the disturbances in Parlakhemundi, Vizagapatam and Ghumsur, Vols. 1 and 2 by G. S. Russel, (1856 Madras).
4. Report of the Famine in the Madras Presidency for the year 1896-97, Vols. 1 and 2 (1898).
5. Report of the Indian Education Commission, Vols. 1 and 2, 1982.
6. Report on the Famine of 1891-92.
7. Report on the Agricultural Exhibitions in the Provinces in the year 1858-59.
8. Report of Collector, Ganjam to the Board of Revenue, 1840.
9. Report of Collector, Ganjam to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, 1839.
10. Report of the Collector, Ganjam to the President and Members, Court of Wards, Fort. St. George, 1806.
11. Report on the irrigation and communication of the district Ganjam.
12. Report of Mr. Cotsford on the pargunnas and the zemindaries in the Itchapur district, 1769.

13. Report of Edward Cotsford on the Rents of Havelly and River customs.
14. Report of Edward Cotsford to the President and Governor in Council on settlement for the year 1769.
15. Report of Collector, Ganjam on Chinnakimedy Taluk and Land Revenue of Amani Taluks for fusli 1258 or 1848 A.D.
16. Report of the Salt Committee, 1876.
17. Report of the Madras Salt Commission, 1876.
18. Report of the Committee on local self Government
19. Report on the administration of public affairs in the Madras Presidency for the year 1837-58.
20. Report and other papers in a view to revision and recasting of the Revenue laws of the Madras Presidency, 1856.
21. Report on the Revision of the Revenue Establishment in the Madras Presidency by J. H. Garstin, Esq. acting Second member of Revenue on special duty, 1883.
22. Report on the settlement of the Land Revenue of the Provinces under Madras Presidency, 1868-69.
23. Report of the Meriah Agents, 1837-61 (Madras-1856).
24. The fifth report from the Selection Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, Dated 28th July, 1872, Vols. I-III (Caloutta 1917-19), Ed. Firminger, W. K.
25. William Brown's Report on the Parganas of Aska, Barwah, Itchapur, Muntreddy and Munsucotta in the district of Ganjam, 18th April, 1801, (Ganjam-1860).
26. Report of the Land Revenue Commission-Bengal, Vol. I (1940-Bengal Government).
27. Report of the Administrative Committee (1958 Cuttack).
28. Final Report on the Major Settlement Operation in Ganjam, Ex-Estate areas, 1936-62, Board of Revenue, Orissa-Cuttack.

29. Final Report on the Survey and Settlement by the Provinces of Orissa, 1890-1900, Vol. II.
30. Report of a tour of Professional Inspection of the Northern Hilliral districts of the Madras Presidency by F. C. Cotton. (1856).
31. The Ethnological Report of the Madras Presidency by T. G. Frazer, (1865 Madras).
32. Estate Land Act Committee report, 1936 (Madras).

Proceedings

1. Proceedings of the Agriculture Conference in the Revenue and Agricultural Department at Simla dated 6-13 October, 1890.
2. Proceedings of the Agricultural Conference, 1893, 1895 and 1896.
3. Proceedings of the Commissioner, Northern Circar dated 2nd July, 1855.
4. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue for the month of May, 1860, Vol. V.
5. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue for the month of January, 1860, Vol. I.
6. Proceedings of the Madras Government (Education Department) dated 28th January, 1867.
7. Proceeding of the Madras Government (Education Department) dated 19th March, 1867, 1st October, 1867.
8. Proceeding of Board of Revenue dated 16th July, 1890, No. 211.
9. Proceeding of Board of Revenue in the department of Revenue, Settlement, Land Records and Agricultural for the month of November, 1890, No. 241.
10. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, Vol. VI, 1887.
11. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dated 15th November, 1887, No. 448-450, 465-466.
12. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue dated 6th August, 1891, No. 494.

13. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, 1891-92 dated 2nd April, 1891, No. 188 ; 28th April, 1891, No. 250 ; 14th May, 1891, No. 81 ; 15th August, 1892, No. 576 ; 18th July, 1892, No. 515 ; 8th November, 1892, No. 731 ; 3rd October, 1892, No. 665 ; 24th October, 1892, No. 699 and 25th October, 1892, No. 800.
14. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, Settlement and Agriculture and Land Revenue, August, 1888, December, 1892, Vol. No. 36-642.

Gazetteer

1. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IX
2. Ganjam District Gazetteer, Vols. 1-3 (1907, Madras).
3. Orissa District Gazetteer (Koraput) by R. C. S. Bell, 1945, Cuttack.
4. Orissa District Gazetteer (Koraput) by N. Senapati and and N. K. Sahu, (1966, Cuttack).
5. Gazetteer of India, 1898.

Journals

1. Indian Agriculturists, 1890, Vol. XX.
2. The Orissa Historical Journal, Vol. VI, 1957.
3. Indian Journal of Serial Work, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, April, 1962.
4. Journal of Education, Madras, 1891-1895.
5. The Indian Journal of Education, 1895-97.

Manuals

1. Manual of the Administration of Madras Presidency, 3 Volumes (1886-Madras).
2. Manual of the Settlement Department by Dewan Bahadur J. Lakshmikanta Row (1887, Madras).
3. The Madras Survey Manual of Departmental Rules by F. P. Vincent Compartz, (1921, Madras).
4. The Madras Court of Wards Manual (1907, Madras).

5. The Manual of standing information for the Madras Presidency (1893, Madras).
6. Ganjam Manual (1918, Madras), T. J. Maltby.

Selections and Collections

1. Collection of papers relating to the Excise Administration of India.
2. Selection from the Records of Ganjam Collector, 1836.
3. Selections from the Records of Board of Revenue-Correspondence in Vizagapatam district.
4. Selections from the Records of Madras Government (New Revenue Series, Nos. IX, XI).
5. Selections from the Records of Madras Government relating to Grant-in-aid, 1864, No. LXXXII.
6. Selections from the Records of Madras Government, No. XVI, Memorandum on Salt.
7. Selections from the Records of the South Arcot district, No. II.
8. Selections from the Records of Madras Government, No. XIV.
9. Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. II (Papers relating to Public Instructions) by A. J. Arbuthnot, (1855, Madras).
10. Selection from the Records of Madras Government, No. VII (Report on the Sowing festival and the ceremony of walking through fire .
11. Madras Revenue Selections, Vols. I and II.
12. Selections from the Records of Madras Government, No. XXXI-XXIII.
13. Selections from the Records of Bengal Government, 1855.
14. Selection from the Records of Madras Government Education, No. XVII, 1855 ; XXXV, 1856, XV, 1868-69, LIV, 1865-66.

15. Selections from the Educational Records by K. D. Bhargava, 1920.
16. Selections from the Records of the Govt. of India, Vol. IV (1856).
17. Selections from the Education Records, 1840-59 by J. A. Richey.
18. Selections from the Records of Madras Government, Vol. I by M. A. Indu (1960).
19. Selections of the papers from the Records of East India House, Vols. I and II.
20. Selections from the Records of Madras Government, No. IXXX, Madras, 1864 (Relating to Jeypore).

Books

1. Aggarwal, S. C., Salt Industry in India, (1937).
2. Ahmad, Z. A., Some Economic and financial aspects of the British Rule in India (Allahabad-1937).
3. Aitchison, C. H., A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads (1909).
4. Anstey Vera, The Economic Development of India, (1957-London).
5. Auber, P., Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, 2. Vols. (1837-London).
6. Baden-Powell, The Land System of British India, 3 Vols. (1892-Oxford).
7. Baillie, Neil B. E., The Land Tax of India, (1835, London).
8. Basu, B. D. and Others. India under the British Crown, (1933, London).
9. Bearce, George D. British Attitude towards India, (1961, Oxford).
10. Bhatia, B. M., Famines in India 1850-1945 (Bombay, 1963).
11. Boag, G. T., The Madras Presidency (1933, London).

12. Brown, J. C, Indian Infanticide, its Origin, Progress and Suppression (Madras, 1897).
13. Copper, J., The three Presidencies of India (London, 1853).
14. Cruz, Marshall D., The annals of Indian Administration, Vols. V to XV (1861-1871).
15. Cruz, Henry D. The Annals of Indian Administrations, Vol. XVI (1872).
16. D. Barbour., An enquiry into the incidence of taxation in British India (1881, London).
17. Dalton, E. T., Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (1971, New Delhi).
18. Das, M. N, Economic and Social Development of Modern India (Calcutta, 1959).
19. Deb, Jaganath Gajapati Narayan, Brundaban Chandra Bechar (Oriya), (1917, Parlakhemundi).
20. Deo, Kumar Bidyadhar Singh, Nandapur (a forsaken Kingdom), (1933, Cuttack).
21. Devas, C. S., Political Economy, (1920, London).
22. Digby, William., The Famine Campaign in Southern India, Vol. I, (1878, London).
22. Digby, William, Prosperous British India (1901 London).
23. Dutta, R. C., The Economic History of India, Vols I and II, (London, 1906).
24. Elwin, Verrier., The Religion of an Indian Tribe, (1956, London).
25. Fraser, H. L., Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots (London, 1912).
26. Gangopadhyaya, Gopal Chandra, The Annals of Indian Administration, Vols. XVII and XVIII (1873-1874).
27. Gupta, C. S., Agrarian Relations and Early British Rule in India (Bombay, 1863).
28. Iyenger, S. S., Land Tenures in the Madras Presidency (Madras, 1916).

29. Memorandum on the progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years of British Administration. (Madras, 1893).

30. Iyenger, T. E. Ramswamy. Resistance to British Rule in Ganjam. (1977, Ph.D. Thesis, Berhampur University).

31. Jena, K. C., Land Revenue Administration in Orissa during the Nineteenth Century. (1968, New Delhi).

32. Kaye, J. K., The Suppression of Human Sacrifice, Suttee and Female Infanticide. (1882, Madras).

33. Kaye, J. K., The Administration of the East India Company, (1966, Allahabad).

34. Keane, A. H., The Living Races of Mankind, (1st. Edn, London).

35. Macleane, C. D., Standing Information of the Madras Presidency, (1879, Madras).

36. Merjoribanks, N. E., A Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency. (1913 Madras.)

37. Mazumdar, B. C., Orissa in the Making, (Calcutta, 1926).

38. Misra, B. B., The Central Administration of the East India Company, 1773-1834. (1959, Oxford.).

39. Mohanty, J. N. A Report on the Mamools in Ganjam Agency. (1952, Cuttack).

40. Morrison, Cameson, A New Geography of Indian Empire. (1909, London).

41. Mukherjee, P., History of Orissa, (1964, Cuttack).

42. Murray, J. C., The Annals of Indian Administration, Vols. I-IV. (1856-1860).

43. O'Malley, L S. S., Modern India and the West, (1968, Oxford).

44. Padhy, Benimadhab, Daru Devata, (Oriya), (1964, Cuttack).

45. Patnaik, Udayanath, Report of the Administrative Enquiry Committee, (1958, Cuttack).

46. Patra, K. M., Orissa Under the East India Company, (New Delhi, 1971).

47. Phillips, C. H., The East India Company, 1871-1834, (1961, Oxford).

48. Ramadhyani, R. K., Report on Land Tenure and on the Revenue System of Orissa and Chattisghar States, Vol. I, (1953, Cuttack).

49. Ramamurty, G. V., Saura-English Dictionary, (1933, Madras).

50. Rawlinson, H. S., British Achievement in India. (1948, London).

51. Ray, B. C., Orissa Under the Marathas, (1960, Allahabad).

52. Roberts, P. E., The Historical Geography of India.

53. Roberts, P. E., History of British India Under the Company and the Crown, (1970, London).

54. Rotton, J. J. L., Hand Book of Common Salt, (1877, Madras).

55. Russell, R. V. and Raibahadur Hiralal, The Tribes and Caste of the Central Provinces of India (1906, Madras).

56. Samal, J. K., Orissa Under the British Crown, (1977, New Delhi).

57. Samantarai, N., History of Oriya Literature (Oriya), (1964, Bhubaneswar).

58. Schulze, F. V. P., The Religion of the Kui Kondhs, (1912, Madras).

59. Sen, S. P., The French in India, (1958, Calcutta).

60. Sen, J. M., History of Elementary Education in India, (1933, Calcutta).

61. Taylor, H. D., Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency. (1969, Cuttack).

62. Thompson, Edward and Garrat, G. T., Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, (1934, London).

63. Thomas, P. J., Economic Depression in the Madras Presidency (1820-1854), (Madras, 1937).
64. Thurston, E., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, (1909, Madras).
65. Vedivelu, A., The Aristocracy of Southern India, (1903, Madras).
66. Encylopedia Britannica, Vols. V, IX, X, (Edinburgh, 9th edn.).
67. A short account of Ganjam Famine, 1866 (1867, Ganjam).

INDEX

N

NEPAL

BHUT

DELHI

RAJPUTANA AGENCY

BI

BENGAL

UPPER BURM

CHOTA NAGPUR

CALCUTTA

NAGPUR

BERAR

ORISSA

CUTTACK

CHILIKA LAKE

GANJAM

BOMBAY

VIZAGAPATAM

CHICACOLE

VIZIANAGARAM

VIZAGAPATAM

HYDERABAD

GODAVARI

KISTNA

GUNTUR

MASULIPATAM

KURNUL

BELLARY

ANANTAPUR

CUDDAPAH

NELLORE

NORTH ARCOT

MADRAS

CHINGLEPUT

S. CANARA

MYSORE

COORG

MALABAR

SOUTH ARCOT

SALEM

PONDICHERRY

TRICHINOPOLY

COIMBATORE

TANJORE

COCHIN

PUDUKKOTTAI

MADURA

TINNEVELLY

TRAVANCORE

CEYLON

ARABIAN SEA

BAY OF BENGAL

INDIAN OCEAN

REFERENCES

PRESI — BOUNDARY LINE

INDI

BASED ON THE MAP IN
C. COLLIN DAVIES' – 'AN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE INDIAN PENNISULA
MADRAS – 1953

WILL BE RELEASED SHORTLY